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# THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

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THE

## OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN,

WITH

## A REVIEW

OF HIGH CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN RELATION TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

BY

A. D. EDDY,

NEWARK, N. J.

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"Two classes of religious opinions are now, and probably for the last time, in conflict, the Catholic and the Genevan."

DR. PUSEY.

"The precious spark of liberty (was) kindled and preserved by the Puritans alone, and it is to this Sect, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."

HUME.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

THE leading sentiments of the following pages were presented to the congregation of which the author is the stated minister, on the occasion of the last State Thanksgiving. From the business, political and religious aspect of this city, as well as of the country generally, the author felt it due to himself and to his congregation, to submit them to their consideration. The unexpected interest with which they were received, and the attention which they have excited from other sources, forbid that he should decline the request for their publication, in a new and more extended form, sustained by such references and authorities as may be relied upon. There are times when men must speak in defense of their own principles, even though those of others may thereby be called in question. The necessity which has been laid upon the author of these pages to do so, at this time, is better known and felt, than necessary or proper, fully to state. This necessity is, with him, a matter of sincere regret; yet, it has been his aim and effort to speak in *love* and for TRUTH.

*Newark, N. J.*, Feb., 1843.

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# INTRODUCTION.

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## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND CONGREGATION,

### IN THE CITY OF NEWARK, N. J.

To the recent proclamation of our Chief Magistrate, we are indebted for another of those interesting occasions, when, with the changes of the seasons, we are summoned to acknowledge our mercies, in gratitude to our Heavenly Father. I love to recall the occasion that gave rise to the institution of an American Thanksgiving. It arose among the usages of times primitive in this country, which stand, and I trust will long stand, venerated memorials of the sterling integrity, intellectual strength and evangelical piety of our fathers.

They had encountered many a calamity. The winter, famine, pestilence, savage war and the deep wilderness, were all fresh before them. Many, oft repeated seasons of fasting and prayer they had observed. Amid calamities, they may have forgotten mercy, and failed in filial reliance upon the Father of goodness.

Another day of humiliation being proposed, it was suggested that the divine goodness as well as chastisement claimed regard. Instead of a fast, a day of thanksgiving was designated, and our Puritan ancestors originated that institution, which has been commended to our regard by the Executive of this Commonwealth.

The instrument that convened us, speaks of general peace, freedom from pestilence, and of plenteous harvests, and, above

all, we have presented THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST, as claiming pre-eminently our unfeigned thankfulness. In your name, and as one of the ministers of that religion, I thank the GOVERNOR of our State, for this open and manly tribute of respect to our common Christianity. Our civil rulers would not be honored *less*, if *they* more often and highly honored God; and our confidence in them is proportionate to their fear of Him. While the blessings of a common providence are enriched by the civil relations and immunities with which we enjoy them, these relations and immunities borrow their chief support from the gospel of Christ. Hence, Christianity does not overlook civil government; nor does government, in its wise administration, overlook religion. The one is essential to the high ends of the other, and religion is the purest and best when diffusing the leaven of its sanctifying influence through every department of our social economy.

Though there is no necessary connexion between the external order and framework of Christianity, and the polity of the commonwealth, there must ever be, in every *well regulated community*, the diffusive influence, and elastic power of Christianity, to control the minds and hearts of men, in the relations of civil and political life. There is no intellectual culture nor moral perfectibility of our race; no wisdom or form in human government and laws, which can dispense with the spirit and teachings of a divine religion. Every experiment has proved a failure and an offense, entailing weakness and a curse. The nation and kingdom that will not serve (God) shall perish.

The favorable manner which many of the principles discussed in the following pages were received, when delivered, on the anniversary of our State Thanksgiving, has induced me to submit them to your disposal in a more extended form. They are commended to your serious consideration, with the hope that you may better appreciate the responsibilities of the *Christian Citizen*, and more highly prize and enjoy the immunities which our civil and religious institutions confer. That the political aspect of the country is without many alarming

indications we cannot believe, and that existing evils will pass away, without our judicious efforts to remove them, is not to be expected. In the remedy or endurance of these evils, moral and religious principle is to be chiefly relied upon as the most efficient agent.

In the discussion of both political and religious questions, from my uniform freedom from participation in party politics, and from controversy in religion, you will not suppose that I am engaging in the one or courting the other. I intend to have nothing to do with either. Yet I would contribute in my humble measure, to allay the violence of party in the state, and to moderate the unwarrantable zeal of sectarian religionists.

While civil governments greatly affect religion, in aiding or checking the diffusion of its spirit, and shaping its ecclesiastical organization; religion does much towards imparting vitality to government, and mitigating or increasing the severity of its features. Hence the iron arm of pagan governments; the despotic rule of the Mahomedan and Chinese empires, and the almost equal tyranny of Spain and the Italian States. It is from this same reciprocal action of state policy and religion, that we meet everywhere, with the darkness and cruelty of the Romish communion, the most restricted rights of citizenship among the people. We find the mixed and anomalous confederacies of Germany, Holland and Switzerland, with the equally anomalous character of the churches of the Heidelberg and Helvetic faith: the kingdom of Great Britain, with its republican and aristocratic Parliament, and its nominal Monarchy, clinging to its own fading shadow, with its unstable church, as crowding dissenters and a teeming population are demanding the fullest liberty of the gospel. And hence it is we meet the solitary spectacle of our free institutions, with the Scotch Presbytery shorn of its original and unscriptural assumptions, and Independency, in its various forms, reserving to itself its inherent rights and acknowledging no superior, but its divine Master. Any ecclesiastical polity harmonizing with other forms of civil government, is obvious

not indigenous to our soil, and, whatever may be its pretensions to a heavenly origin in its outward framework, receives but little sympathy from our free institutions, and its ultimate influence upon our civil polity is a subject of no ordinary interest to every Christian citizen.

It is from these considerations that I shall speak freely, and I hope kindly, of both political and religious institutions, as found existing among us; and as these are favorable to the stability of our government and the growth of a *spiritual religion*, they claim our warmest confidence and support. Our civil and religious principles are our richest and dearest inheritance; and the time has arrived, when it is our imperious duty to speak in their defense. You are not wholly ignorant of the circumstances which claim this, at my hands, at the present time.

There are a few subjects connected with our civil and religious interests, which are not sufficiently considered even by the most intelligent classes of the Christian community. To some of these, it is my duty and desire to direct your attention.

There is a natural concentration of power, which leads imperceptibly and rapidly to complete despotism, alike in the church and in the state. And this is the most rapid, and difficult to resist or recall, not where it is claimed by hereditary right or violently usurped, but where it is delegated by popular consent, conferred and received, at first, for the purpose of conscience and religion.

It is here that Christianity, or the visible church, opens its instructive and warning records. The gospel, at first, breathed entire "liberty:" that was its "spirit." It marked the age of "evangelical Christianity," memorable and bright through apostolical times, and for near two hundred years; when this catholic "liberty," passing from fraternal supervision, yielded to ecclesiastical control. The Word of God was sole arbiter in the first; the interpretations and decisions of church councils, in the second. While the "power of the spirit" clothed the one, as with the radiance of charity; the energies of the

earthly arm, in God's name, without his love, invested the other.

From the church, power gradually and insensibly passed into the hands of her clergy, with whom she left the settlement of her faith and discipline, and felt relieved from mental effort and moral responsibility.

A farther concentration of power succeeded, and in seven hundred years after Christ, a *solitary man* is found enthroned in the spiritual empire of God, his august *Vicegerent!* This is the concentration of *religious power.*

No less natural and certain is the tendency to concentration in the powers of the state. Supremacy here is ever tending from the many to the few, with a rapidity always in proportion as the strong coercions of government are required, or men are unprepared to govern themselves; till recoiling from the blasting tempests of a wild, gregarious infidelity of ignorance and blood, they fly for shelter to the bosom of an iron despotism.

The gospel reverts this fearful tendency of concentration, and would throw power back from the few to the many. And this it does, not by any direct and forcible action on the functions of government, but by fitting society for self-control; or in other words, by rendering legislative enactments, governmental restraints and coercion needless, so that the vast, delegated power to frame and enforce laws shall be comparatively unnecessary. When men are intelligent and moral enough to govern themselves, that is, to *act right*, there will be no such demand for this vast array of legislative, judicial and martial power.

Thus Christ left his church, instinct with his spirit divine; Himself its only Head. Thus he would make the world, a commonwealth of charity, its every law fulfilled in love; the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, given to the people of the saints of the Most High God. The state and the church are thus lost in one great brotherhood, intelligent in Christ their Sovereign, Savior, God.

There are few, if any portions of our population on whom,

the principles of civil and religious liberty have stronger claims, than upon the citizens of this Commonwealth. Here their price was most dearly paid; their virtue most rigidly tested. Here came the Hugunots of France, and the Exiles of Switzerland suffering for Christ. Here came the Pilgrims resting from their toils; the Puritans, firm in the faith and hope of God.

Here was raised the voice of the eloquent and revered *Witherspoon* pleading the principles of civil and religious freedom. Here our *Caldwell* fell, their stern and able advocate. Through these streets *our* fathers were driven, by foreign violence. Every rod of earth around us is enriched by their blood. On every hill bleach the bones of holy men that contended for our liberty and religion. Here are the battle fields of that conflict of opinions and of arms for the liberty and religion of mankind.

And here, too, were started and matured some of the noblest institutions of Christian benevolence. The names of *Burr*, of *Brainard*, *Edwards*, *McWhorter*, *Boudinott*, *Finly* and *Griffin*, hallow the spot where we live. Theirs were the principles of the gospel, of the reformation, of missions, of Christian liberty for the entire world. These principles have come down to you from great and holy men. Their sanction was their piety; their purchase was their blood. They are now in your hands. There may they never be undervalued, impaired or obscured. Reaping their rich immunities, transmit them to your posterity and mankind that shall come after you.

A. D. E.

*Feb.*, 1843.

# THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

## § 1. CIVIL GOVERNMENT OR THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION: ITS ORIGIN, CLAIMS, AND CHIEF SECURITIES.

The captious Pharisee, attempting to make the claims of the Savior conflict with the government of the Roman, asked, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not?" The Redeemer, the symbol of Roman supremacy before him, with inimitable wisdom replied, "*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*" Here was recognised the existence of human government, with the obligation of its subjects to honor and sustain it; and in no part of the Gospel is there any release from the imperative demands which the laws and institutes of human authority impose, when not in collision with the government and laws of God. Christianity prepares men for the kingdom of heaven, by making them good citizens of the earthly state; and no man is fitted for the one, who has not well discharged the duties of the other.

Government, as a science, may be denominated, "the frame work of the social polity." In popular language it sometimes signifies, "the carrying of the national affairs

into execution. Sometimes the person or persons upon whom this duty devolves." In more general and comprehensive terms, it is the "*Constitution of Society.*"* And it is in this wide sense that it is so interesting to every member of society; as each one becomes a constituent part, looking up for its protection and immunities, and is compelled to share in the responsibilities of its support.

Government, or the "social constitution," has appeared under various forms, and never yet assumed a permanent and fixed character. Its most general features have been embraced in three comprehensive forms: the Democratical Republican, the Aristocratical Monarchy, and an Absolute Despotism. Dismissing the last two, with the various combinations which they may have assumed from time to time, the consideration of the first becomes a subject of personal interest to every American citizen.† This appears to be that form, to which all governments in their ceaseless changes are advancing; which the popular mind everywhere demands, and which, if we mistake not, the word and providence of

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* Government, says the Hon. John Quincy Adams, is the exercise of power directing or controlling the will of human beings. This power may be exercised by every individual over himself, or it may be exercised by one or more individuals over others. See Lecture at Providence, Nov., 1842, p. 11.

† It is impossible to give any one definite term that shall express the true nature of our government. Each State has its own constitution, and all united form the Confederacy, under a separate constitution. Neither of these, nor the two combined, says Mr. Adams, can, without a gross and fraudulent perversion of language be termed a *Democracy.* They are neither democracy, aristocracy nor monarchy. They form together a mixed government, compounded of these three elements, with a fourth added element, of *Confederacy.*

God for near six thousand years, authorise us to believe, that, He, in mercy, destines all mankind yet to sustain and enjoy.

Under this form, says the eloquent and accomplished Montesquieu, "Public virtue, pervading the hearts and conduct of the whole body of the people, is the animating and sustaining principle. Every selfish and exclusive purpose must be relinquished by the individual: and his country, its glory and its happiness must take entire possession of his breast. Froud distinction for popular government, and happy the people among whom it is established if the principle were a sure consequence of the form."

It is our duty and privilege, as Christian citizens, to see that principle secured. Having that "*form*" of government, we trust that it is God's purpose to secure for us and to those who may come after us this *principle* as the legitimate fruit of the *form* when properly understood and rightly administered.

We say the word and providence of God seem to favor this idea of government. A review of *that* government, which he early established over the Hebrews, and the details of which were so admirably carried out in the administration of the lawgiver of Israel, confirm us in the belief of this position.

Reverting to these times and these first principles, we not only find government to be a divine institution; "the powers that be, ordained of God;" but we find clearly marked the relations, privileges and duties of the various classes of society, the separate elements of which it is composed: that while man, must have government and be governed, his duty and his destiny are, wisely, virtuously, and religiously to govern himself:—by the union

of cultivated mind, virtuous hearts and purposes of manly strength, he is to meet and control all the opposing interests of ignorance and wickedness. Under the salutary direction of providential and gracious influences, men are to take care of themselves, in associated strength, wisdom and virtue; "as members one of another" to silence, subdue or throw out of their communion all who refuse submission to the constitution and government that enlightened counsels and religious virtue have reared.

There is nothing in the original and exalted position which God himself held over the government of the Hebrews which forbids this conclusion. He did indeed deliver from Sinai prominent and general laws for the government of a moral and religious community. But these very laws are to be considered as having their foundation in the immutable principles of moral rectitude, as ultimate and existing facts in the intellectual and moral kingdom of God. These laws make no new principles, nor do their penalties do anything more than enforce principles already established. These laws are but saying to the world what is right and necessary among moral agents, and they foreshadow in their penalties what will be the necessary and inevitable results of disregarding these rights. And if God had never descended on that rocky mount, and its thunders and fires never there been known, these fixed, moral principles, with their results, would all have been met in the progress of our race.

These laws were subsequently drawn out and more fully applied in detail to the various relations of social and civil life. And though from their origin and incipient administration, we must recognise and admit a Theoc-

racy, that God was in fact the monarch of his people; yet the government which he gave to Israel, was not without those usual forms which are found existing in the civil institutions of men. God it is true was the king, and the high priest of the sanctuary borrowed from above the prerogatives of his office. At the same time the political arrangements of the Hebrew state were under the direction of elders, princes and subordinate officers. To these, in behalf of the people, and through them *to* all the people, Moses delivered the divine commandments, and receiving through them the wishes of the people, submitted their requests to the decision of God. All this may at first view, if not in reality, assume the appearance of an aristocratical monarchy:—but beyond all this, or perhaps advancing upon this, we find the "tribes of Israel in popular assemblies," clothed with that paramount influence which "demanded the laws to be submitted to them for their approval and ratification." They even assumed and were not denied, "the right of proposing their own laws, and at times to resist such as were already enacted." "There was in the Hebrew commonwealth no power of levying taxes but such as the people themselves imposed." Here was shadowed forth that more spiritual government of the gospel, where the sovereignty of God never suspends nor infringes the freedom of men.

No one can rise from the study of the Jewish economy without perceiving and admiring this leading feature, the obvious design of God, to enlighten, elevate and empower his people with the privileges and blessings of self-control, and of self-control on the principles of the divine government.

An able writer has said, "Considering the age of the world in which the Jewish code was established and

how little the doctrine of personal rights was understood in the world generally, is it not somewhat remarkable, that the laws of Moses were so decidedly the friend of civil liberty? I know not where to look for any single work which is so full of the great principles of political wisdom, as the laws of Moses and the history of the kings of Judah and Israel. Notwithstanding their recent servitude to a foreign and despotic prince, and though just entering upon a tedious pilgrimage in the deserts of Arabia, they adopted a regular form of government. It was a government which lasted almost half a century before they came to the promised land, and which, when they ultimately settled in that land, remained for a series of years undisturbed, and enabled them to maintain their independence throughout all the varieties of their national history. And yet, with the exception of the writ of Habeas Corpus, a privilege not required under their government because it did not allow of imprisonment, I do not know that there is a single feature of a Free State but is here distinctly developed. They were a people remarkably well acquainted with their rights and form of government. Though rich in resources and powerful in arms, they were few. Though holding as they did, in the time of David and Solomon, the balance of power between the two great monarchies of Egypt and Assyria, and giving law to all the kingdoms between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, they remained a free people. They were free in choosing their own form of government; free in the enacting of their laws; free in that the laws governed and not men."

"The form of government established by Moses was *republican;* though, with salutary restrictions, the people were at liberty to change it when they desired. It con-

sisted of twelve great tribes, each under its leader constituting a little commonwealth, while all were united in one great republic. They were a nation of confederate states, bound together for the purposes of defense and conquest. * * * Their laws though originating for the most part with God, were approved by themselves. The nation, in other words, adopted their own laws. Nor is there an instance on record, to the best of my knowledge, in which their laws were not proposed to the representatives of the people and received their unanimous consent."

"No nobler people; no better organised community ever existed than the ancient Hebrews. Inured to honorable industry; — wealthy, but without ostentatious magnificence — ready at a moment's call to resist any attack upon their country's freedom — with an honest pride exulting in their revered ancestry — they may well be regarded during the more auspicious period of their history, as the noblest specimen of a free and independent nation."*

With these views and obvious features of the government of Israel, perfectly harmonise the spirit, aims and institutes of the gospel. It everywhere goes upon the ground of an equality of rights, of mutual and reciprocal obligation. It brings all men upon one common level as to character and wants, and it destines them all to a common judgment, where the "incidental, circumstantial and temporary distinctions of men," shall be lost in the commanding retributions of a common eternity. "*Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;*" and just in proportion as the evangelical spirit of the gospel has arisen, pervaded and governed society, have the uncomfortable restraints and adventitious distinctions of life and of gov-

* Dr. Spring.

ernment been laid aside, and the arm of arbitrary and oppressive authority weakened or withdrawn.

The gospel in its spirit and precepts comes to moderate human passion; to subdue selfishness and pride; to diffuse charity, the social affections and good-will among mankind. It comes to enrich the poor, to strengthen the feeble, to comfort the afflicted, to relieve the oppressed, to let the captive go free. It would impart all the elements of the best regulated self-government; forming *that* constitution where men may say we are 'free indeed.' Here it would equalise all mankind in the hopes and sympathies of Christ; raise the entire family of our race to the citizenship of heaven; making freemen of the heirs of a corrupted bondage; kings and priests of the Most High from the willing captives of sin and death. In Christ Jesus, there is neither Greek, nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free.

"The religion," says Tocqueville, "which declares all men equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law." "This same religion," he adds, "is the companion of liberty in all its battles and in all its conflicts; the cradle of its infancy, and the divine source of its claims."

What the laws, institutes and religion of the Bible and the spirit of Christianity would have men to be, government, ordained of God, wisely administered and sustained by the people, kindly and of necessity comes in to make them: and it is only by sustaining and administering the one, in the spirit and on the principles of the other, that this result can be secured. Christian citizens only, can create and sustain a Christian government, and government administered on any principles but those of the

Bible, will not long be a government over free and independent men.

The great difficulty and danger imminent to this country, is the hope and the struggle to attain *that*, by government and law alone, which can be secured and enjoyed by that only which lies back of government and law, enlightened, virtuous Christian principle — that which gives to government its ornament and pride ; to law its supremacy and worth. It is the casting off of these high principles, resisting their attractive power, that throws us in wild circuity from the sympathy, the light and radiant glory of the great, conservative system of truth and God, and like a baleful star stricken from its orbit, left to fall in loneliness and night.

It becomes then the duty of every citizen of the state, and every member of the government, to see his part performed, his trust met and his pledges redeemed on the principles and in the spirit of a common and divine Christianity. Here we meet together as members of the civil community, under equal laws and equal moral obligations ; and the Christian preacher, as one of the members of the civil community, and as one of the expounders of the divine law and the principles of moral responsibility, is to aid by his ministrations of truth and mercy, the stability of the government and the salutary execution of its laws. He transcends not the sphere, nor does he come down from the elevation and sanctity of his office, when he calls upon every man in the name and in the language of his Master to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's ; whether as a citizen or a ruler of state, to govern and be governed as a *Christian member* of the commonwealth. There is but one law of moral rectitude, and

that law stretches its imperious claims from the pauper on his bed of straw to the chair of state, the majesty of crowns and the throne of God; and that man is a traitor to his race and a rebel against God who refuses its binding power.

The origin and design of government should lead men to reverence its character; respect its institutes, and industriously seek the benefits it would confer. Its imperfections are not to be attributed to its origin; but they arise from the imperfect societies of men. Government becomes more and more perfect in its laws and happy in its administration as its subjects, growing in wisdom and virtue, labor for the general prosperity rather than for personal and party distinctions.

Though the rulers of the Christian citizen, rise under his own choice, and the laws they enact are made his own by voluntary submission, the authority that gave them, and the sanctions that clothe them, are to be respected as the "powers that are ordained of God;" so that he can never revile nor resist their execution with rudeness or irreverence.

The absorbing influence of personal or party ends, which overlooks alike the source, the security and purposes of government, must be carefully guarded. There may sometimes be party discussions and arrangements, which with due moderation may have their uses in suppressing local jealousies and sectional designs, as well as by imposing a vigilant inspection and salutary check to the abuse of executive powers: But undisciplined party will hazard the general good in its struggles for predominance, and when attained, recklessly bind every interest to the increase of its own spoils.

And there is often equal danger in servile adherence

to the measures of a party administration, as in unreasonable opposition and violence to its character and enactments. No one can innocently or safely enlist under the *exclusive* banners of party at all, whether in power or contending for its attainment, considered as a party. In these struggles, the government of the state will become secondary to the triumphs of personal and party ambition, and the precious interests of a whole community lost in the madness of faction. Thus blind attachment or indiscriminate resistance to party, impairs the vigor of government, degrades this heavenly ordinance and resists the power of God. "The great point of a Christian people," says Andrew Fuller, "should be an attachment to government *as government*, irrespective of the party that administers it." When Nero ruled and Christians bled, even then, loyalty was enjoined, and the despisers of government were rebuked and silenced as the opposers of God and a divine Christianity.

With these views of the civil relations and that ordinance which defines the obligations of the citizen to the state, may be seen the folly and guilt of prostituting the administration of law and government to any selfish or merely temporary purposes. Too often is government praised and honored in its constituted authorities, not as it cultivates and encourages virtue and holiness, but as it keeps open and fruitful the sources of pecuniary gain, and invests the selfish and aspiring with the immunities of subordinate office; while the loudest cries of remonstrance that come up from the thousand habitations of men, arise from their embarrassment and losses.

Amid calamities so often experienced, a Christian people should recognise the hand of God rebuking them, perhaps for the perversion of government and the abuse

of its laws. When these are wrongly applied, the very ends to which they were made subordinate are lost, and a twofold defeat ensues. Human sagacity often searches in vain, on all ordinary principles, for the cause of national calamities. There exist no foreign invasion; no suspension of worldly resources; there is no pestilence, nor sterility; the heavens are propitious and the generous earth yields her increase, and the commerce of the world is open and free. At such times we search for causes of embarrassment in vain, till we refer to the perversion of the social and civil relations, to the forgetfulness of that intelligence, virtue and religion, which they were ordained of God to cultivate and maintain.

In addition to this rigid regard for the proper ends of government, it must be remembered, that though ordained of God, its vast and complicated interests are safe only when in the hands of the intelligent and virtuous, to whom are the promises of the divine favor: and this it is made the duty of Christian citizens to implore upon the rulers of the nation. Subordination, respect, obedience, support, yea, reverence for law, and prayer for all in authority, are duties which every Christian citizen owes to the government that protects him. Be subject to powers, for the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive unto themselves condemnation. Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute; custom to whom custom; honor to whom honor. I exhort you, saith the apostle, first of all that supplications, prayers, intercessions and the giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority, that they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;

for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior.

It must be remembered, that in governments such as we are considering, the highest securities do not emanate from office and authority, from the chair of state and the capitol of the country; but they rise from the hearts and rest in the hands of the people. Safety is found only in the wisdom, integrity and religion of the community. Here is the source of power, whence arises the investiture of office. Here are found the bulwarks of defense, as the munition of rocks.

That people who respect authority, render obedience to law and government, and pray for the divine blessing, possess the substantial elements of a free and happy state. With them rests the favor of God. Government, legislation and the execution of law are easy and salutary. On the other hand, without this spirit and these virtues, there is no promise of protection, and no safety. The very laws and government of God are but anarchy and wild confusion amid the rebellious and maddened multitudes of men, and the authority of God is then secured only by the desolating scourges of his vengeance.

In view of the value and great ends of government, it becomes the imperious duty of Christian citizens, by cultivating the principles essential to its maintenance, to give it their most efficient support; and with vigilance becoming their responsibilities, and the interests involved, to guard against every evil which threatens its prosperity.

It is here that history opens its pages of fearful admonition. The annals of all ancient and crowded communities are dark and melancholy. They rose, flourish-

ed, and discarding the virtues of civil life and of religion, died under the judgments of God. We search in vain for their palaces and thrones. Nations that governed the world are known only in the annals of their disgrace and destruction: and we walk over the ashes of crowded capitals, awed by the justice and the judgments that swept them from the earth. The people and the church of God; free, enlightened, enriched and powerful Israel, casting aside the restraints of virtue and law, are scattered, desolate and lost amid the thousand nations of the earth.

Another chapter is opened, and a new economy of government arises. The experience of the past is in vain, and unheeded are its solemn admonitions. Cities, countries and nations throw off the fear of God; violently war with virtue and religion, binding the souls and bodies of the saints, and bowing the entire Christian world to the iron arm of the "man of sin." We look for the judgments of God in vindication of truth and the relief of his people. But a new course of providence begins. A continent, unknown for ages, opens its stainless bosom to the persecuted and exiled families of Christ.

A new government is here founded by the most intelligent and pious men; selected from the very church of God, for a purpose, we believe, of restoring and advancing religion and civil liberty; as were the Jews for the illustration of the wisdom and power of God in their ancient and divinely ordered government. These illustrious men came not alone for civil liberty, but confessedly to advance religion; and in the spirit and culture of the one to secure to the world the blessings of the other. A free church, *a spiritual religion*, the rights of con-

science, the grace and the glory of God, were their primary objects; civil liberty subordinate and consequent. They petitioned neither God nor their king for the one, till they had secured, enjoyed and established the other on a firm foundation. With all this they were prepared for the other, demanded and secured it.

Thus became erected the government which we now enjoy. So far from being dissociated from religion, because it incorporated none into the civil framework of the state as to its legalized, ecclesiastical organization, it, from the beginning, adopted the laws of God as its statutes, and the gospel as its common law. No government since the theocracy of Israel, was so distinctly and emphatically founded on the principles of the Bible and for the great ends of a spiritual religion. Christianity was its basis, and it was instinct with its spirit. Instead of knowing no religion, it knew nothing *but* religion as its primary object of pursuit, and its bond of union. Thus founded, through all its branches, legislative, military, judicial and executive, moral obligation and Christian principle were felt and acknowledged. Its vows of allegiance, oaths of office, and pledges of trust, were all given and received on the Word of God. As clearly as the government of Israel was founded a *religious government*, so evidently was *this* established on the principles of *Christianity;* and the purposes of each, with equal plainness defined. And as the safety of Israel was in the shelter of God's protection, so we are secure only from the spirit and energy of a divine Christianity. As clearly as all this entered into the original structure of our government, as the animating and pervading spirit of its institutions, it ever has and will continue to have, op-

posing principles with which to conflict, and before which, it may often for a season appear to yield. Yet God has never deserted us. From the elastic power of this vital Christianity we may recover and rise above the deep waters that come over us.

The original materials of the American society, and the various elements combining in this concentrated government, have given rise to occasional difficulties and to no little anxiety as to the final results. There was a diversity of character in the two great divisions of the country, both as to their religious principles and the chief causes which led to their settlement. There are the claimed and questioned rights of separate and sovereign states, leading to almost unceasing "conflicts of the law;" the diversity of population, slave and free; the almost necessary rise of party and sectional jealousies, with conflicting pecuniary interests; and from the ceaseless workings of the elements of such a complicated, anomalous and growing confederacy, departures may often occur, from that decorum, integrity and religious principle which ennobled and guided its founders.

The ecclesiastical intolerance and civil oppression from which many of them fled, and the leading design by which the great body of them were governed, long preserved in vigorous action their religious principles, and every day strengthened their attachment to the political and ecclesiastical institutes of their adoption.

Through the whole period of the continental Congress, the perils and storms of that memorable day, there were repeated recognitions of God and a wise reference to his providence. Days of fasting and prayer for the aversion of evils, and for the divine favor, were frequent, and

every department of government seemed cheerfully to recognize the claims of a common Christianity.*

The administration of Washington was marked throughout by a rigid regard for religious principle, and this great man everywhere commended virtue and religion, not only as the sure basis of a free government, but as essential elements in the character of a patriot and statesman. "While we are zealously performing the duties of citizens and soldiers," says he, "we certainly ought not to be inattentive to the *higher duties* of religion. To the distinguished character of patriots, it should be our *highest glory* to add the distinguished character of

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* Sept. 11th, 1777, Congress, by special vote, ordered 20,000 copies of the Bible to be imported from "Holland, Scotland, and elsewhere," into the different ports of the United States. In 1782, "in consequence of the difficulty of importing Bibles," recommended the edition of Robert Aiken, of Philadelphia.

Mar. 14th, 1776, it was voted to observe May 17th as "a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer." Another was appointed six months afterwards, Dec. 11, 1776. Similar seasons were set apart by Congress, Mar. 7, 1778; Mar. 10, 1781; Mar. 19, 1782. In the resolution designating the last, we find these words: "That the religion of our *divine Redeemer*, with all its benign influences, may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

Nov. 1, 1777, A day for public thanksgiving was proclaimed by Congress in view of the Divine favor to the armies of the country. Nov. 17, 1778, a similar day was appointed in view of the reduction of the army under Earl Cornwallis. "Congress in a body repaired to the Dutch Lutheran Church, Oct. 24, 1781, and rendered thanks to Almighty God." Dec. 13, 1781, was proclaimed as a day of thanksgiving throughout the United States. Another was designated for Nov. 28, 1782, with this emphatic declaration: "On every man is urged, each in his station, and by his influence, the practice of true and undefiled religion, *which is the great foundation of public prosperity and national happiness.*"

*Christians.* The signal instances of his providential goodness demand from us, in a particular manner, the warmest returns of gratitude and piety to the Supreme Giver of all good."

The opinions of great men are not alone sufficient to sustain the Christian religion; but the opinions and practices of such a man as GEORGE WASHINGTON, attesting the value, yea, the absolute necessity of the religion of the gospel to the safety of our free institutions, claim our profound respect, admiration and gratitude; and every effort to impair the fair fame of this great man, and to invalidate his claim to evangelical piety, is but an attempt to loosen the foundation upon which our civil interests are based. And we feel bound to question the right, if not to rebuke the efforts of infidels, to drag surreptitiously into their ranks the venerated father of our country. They have been anxious, says Dr. Cox, "to claim him as their own," and this they have done upon high authority to them, and have labored hard to sustain the miserable foundation on which they rest.* But in this, says

* Thomas Jefferson in his '*Ana*,' Feb. 1, 1800, says, Dr. Rush tells me that he had it from Asa Green, that when the clergy addressed General Washington on his departure from the government, it was observed in their consultation, that he had never, on any occasion, said a word to the public which showed a belief in the Christian religion, and they thought they should so pen their address as to force him at length to declare publicly whether he were a Christian or not. They did so. However, his author observed, the old fox was too cunning for them. He answered every article particularly except that, which he passed over without notice. "I know that Governeur Morris, who pretended to be in his secrets and believed himself to be so, has often told me that General Washington believed no more of that system than he himself did."—*Jefferson's Writings*, vol. iv. p. 512.

Why does Mr. Jefferson rest on such testimony when he was inti-

the same distinguished author, "they have signally failed, as their interests and their efforts will soon be all and eternally bankrupt together."

Nothing is more clear than that Washington was a firm believer in Christianity, and its essential aids to the ends of all wise government. Prayer was no stranger to his camp, and the high decorum of religion adorned the entire character of his civil life. He was not a Christian in the closet alone; not such from the factitious interest of state relations, but from principle, at home, abroad, everywhere a professed Christian. A Christian, neither sectarian nor exclusory. He met the followers of God at the table of Christ, with a cordiality of communion as fraternal and strong, as he commended the principles and virtues of a divine and spiritual Christianity to the friends and fellow-citizens of his country. "And every fact that illustrates his piety, or in any way redeems his fame from this calumny (of infidel claims), is welcomed by the public sentiment of the country as a part of the common treasure of mankind."*

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mate with General Washington from 1769, and that for four years while he was Secretary of State, he says, "their intercourse was daily confidential and cordial."—Vol. II. p. 349.

* In 1779–80, the army of General Washington was in winter quarters at Morristown, N. J. The Rev. Dr. Johns was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place. "The General requested Mr. Johns to have a longer intermission between his morning and afternoon services, that his officers might attend: so it was changed, and the officers attended both services."

The service of the communion which was observed in that church but twice a year, occurred while the army were at Morristown. In a morning of the previous week, the General visited the house of the Rev. Dr. Johns, and thus accosted him: "Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday. I

There were, however, many adverse influences to the moral and religious principles upon which the government of this country was established and at first administered. We have already alluded to the diverse character in the elements of which it was constructed. The demoralizing influence of the war of the Revolution greatly increased and aggravated this diversity and strengthened the enemies of religious principle, specially in its bearing upon the government of the state. Long and secret influences were at work adverse to the stern and evangelical piety of the puritans; and there were many whose professed principles demanded the most enlarged liberty, and who violently opposed every appearance, real or imaginary, of aristocratical affinity. The restraints of moral and religious obligation were as unfriendly to the former, as the most extended and agrarian democratic principle in the state was dear to the latter. And while the demoralizing influence of the war above-mentioned greatly augmented the one, the state of the world abroad, excited and agitated by the scenes of revolutionary

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would learn if it accords with the canons of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?" The Doctor rejoined, "most certainly; ours is not the Presbyterian table, but THE LORD'S TABLE; and we hence give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatever name." The General replied, "I am glad of it, that is as it ought to be: but as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities." The Doctor re-assured him of a cordial welcome, and the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath."—Dr. *Cox's Theopneuston*, pp. 28–9.

There are living witnesses to the verity of this and other instances of Washington's participation with Christians at the table of Christ.

France, was stimulating the other almost to a state of phrensy.

France was endeared to us by her kind sympathy and aid through the eventful crisis of our revolution, and the result of her own sanguinary experiment was not fully settled. It was loudly claimed as a signal advance of human society — a splendid march of intellect and moral achievement towards the perfectability of our race.

The depressed state of morals in many sections of the country, and the settled opposition of multitudes to any restrictive forms of administration, which could be supposed to harmonize with aristocratical government in any of its features, were preparing the way for signal changes in the general aspect of society. It required but some concentrating influence, some commanding object of attraction, to unite these strong and unstable elements.

An individual long distinguished in the councils of this country, who had written his name deep and enduring on the foundation-stone of our civil structure, and on many accounts was endeared to the whole nation, had become familiar with the principles of French philosophy both in politics and religion. He had enjoyed the society and become deeply imbued with the spirit of that remarkable people, and he sincerely sympathised with them in their visionary speculations upon the advancement of society, and their full belief in the power of intellectual culture to secure the highest ends of the social state. Infidelity had done its work on his great mind.

Thomas Jefferson, governed by the spirit of European scepticism, and animated with the speculative philosophy of revolutionary France, and aided by the peculiar circumstances of the country at that time, found

in his own hand the power of turning the scale in favor of his elevation to the presidency of these United States.*

Under such auspices, and surrounded by these circumstances, he enters upon the solemn responsibilities of his high office; and whatever may be said of his own personal and direct influence, or of his political character, of which we have here nothing to say, the result was as obvious as it was melancholy. Instead of the stern virtues of the Puritan faith and of evangelical piety, with the conservative energies of a confederate *Christian* government, lending its aid to the advancement of virtue and religion, French morals, French infidelity, French philosophy, like French fashions, soon spread a new aspect over the face of society, and from the heart sent a feverish and fatal action to every extremity.

One of the peculiar and leading, if not most efficient influences that attended the elevation of Mr. Jefferson, was the "levelling system," so ruinous in France, and which found its way to this country at this eventful crisis of its history. It was not the agrarian movement of the *Tiers Etat* alone, but the very cry of the *sans culotte* of the streets of Paris. Instead of a wise and efficient effort to elevate every class of the community, and a laudable desire to advance through the influence of education and morality; there was a determination in the inferior orders of society to rise on the ruins of the higher classes of the community. A demand was made for the most enlarged liberty, and the vulgar prejudice

* See notice of the Life of Jefferson and the Memoirs of Aaron Burr, by M. L. Davis, in the New-York Review, No. I. Mar. 1837, p. 5, and No. III. Jan. 1838, p. 175. And also the Life of Burr, by Davis, vol. II. pp. 71–74.

was fanned to a flame. Low, ignorant, and scurrilous infidelity had its jubilee: its high priest was the chief of the nation; and his voluminous writings, as well as his life, show how faithfully he served the altar at which he ministered.

His works have already been commended to the young men of our country, and as the guardian of their morality every Christian citizen must desire to furnish along with them an antidote to their poison. And while many claim the right to question the political sagacity of this distinguished man, we shall ever regret his influence on the morals of this nation, and feel it our duty to speak in decided disapprobation of his *religious principles.*

During the period of his administration and for some years following it, the principles which he embraced exerted a most disastrous influence on the popular mind. Infidelity, both in its refinement and in its grossness, from the schools of Rochester, Rosseau, and Shaftesbury; from Hobbs, Blount, Voltaire, and Tom Paine, went forth to poison the public mind, and to feed the voracious appetite of the vulgar. It was popular not only at the seat of government, but it was so everywhere. Not a retired village, remote among the mountains of New England, but had its youthful society organised to discuss its principles and favor its claims; while every institution of learning found its seed thickly sown and springing with a vigorous growth.

When the head and the heart are both alike diseased, the whole body, to its remotest members, cannot resist the fatal contagion. Jefferson was the head, the heart, the idol of a numerous and powerful class of avowed sceptics. Disease spread through almost every member. It blindly worshipped and had its reward.

While the influence of the war of the Revolution prepared, in a measure, the way for this disastrous reign of infidelity, no one can question, that the burden of responsibility for its continuance and spread rests in a great measure on Mr. Jefferson. Of this he was proud. His own table and the Sabbath became the theatre and the occasion on which "Christianity was made the subject of his conversation and his sneers," and the young men of his favorite university were the victims of his majestic, *ex cathedra* invectives against the religion of the gospel.*

He sought to lay the foundations of infidelity deep and durable by the broad projection of this literary institution, and in all his writings, down to one of the latest epistles that he dictated, as well as in his rejection of the consolations of religion on his death-bed,† his sentiments were

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* See Trumbull's Reminiscences of Washington.

† The letter of Mr. Jefferson to John Adams near the close of his life; also Tucker's Life and Character of Jefferson, vol. II. p. 495. In his correspondence he expressly denies the claims of Christ and the inspiration of the Gospel. His remarks respecting Jesus Christ and the wife of Joseph are too indelicate and blasphemous to be repeated. He charges the apostles with "stupidity and roguery," and says, "of this band of dupes and impostors Paul was the great Coryphœus."

In a letter to William Short, speaking of his university, he says: "The serious enemies are the priests of the different religious sects, to whose spells on the human mind its improvement is ominous. Hostile as these sects are, in every other point to one another, they unite in maintaining their mystical theogony against those who believe there is only one God. The Presbyterian clergy are loudest; the most intolerant of all sects; the most tyrannical and ambitious. They pant to re-establish *by law* that holy inquisition which they can now only infuse into *public opinion.* We have most unwisely committed to the hierophants of our particular superstition the direction of public opinion, that lord of the universe. We have given them stated and privileged days to collect and catechise us, opportunities

avowed and determined. Of the morality, political or private, consequent on such sentiments, the history of his life must decide.

When Dr. Dwight entered on the presidency of Yale College, that institution was entirely overrun with infidelity, and the most able productions of his great mind are found in his invaluable discourses on modern scepticism.

A reaction in the public mind soon took place, and under the fostering care of our literary and religious institutions better principles began to regain the ascendency. Men almost universally saw that something better than infidelity was needed to "improve the reason and enlighten the general mind;" that without moral and religious principle there was no security for the rising generation, and no permanent stability to government or law. As France had sunk into the iron arms of a despotism, more cruel than that from which she revolted, and become the executioner of her own best sons, her friends and admirers here, warned by her sad catastrophy, no longer to idolise reason in the rejection of Christ, began to reverence the principles of the gospel as the only sure charter of republican liberty. The man, who "in his high and palmy state," was the idol of millions, had passed away, and "like all retiring statesmen," when losing their power of patronage, "experienced the desertion" of multitudes who once lived upon his smiles and

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of delivering their oracles to the people in mass, and of moulding their minds as wax in the hollow of their hands. But in spite of their fulminations against endeavors to enlighten the general mind, to improve the reason of the people and encourage them in the use of it, the liberality of (Virginia) this state will support this institution and give fair play to the cultivation of reason."

were loud in his praise. Here he found the truth of his own "favorite dogma," "that though popular opinion may at first frequently be wrong, yet men will at last reach a correct conclusion." This became realised in his own case, and we no longer wonder that, in the language of his own eulogist biographer, "it was the fate of Thomas Jefferson to be at once more loved and praised by his friends, and more hated and reviled by his adversaries, than any of his compatriots;" and whatever admiration may be given to his political sagacity, no respect is due or can be paid to his moral and religious principles. Having tasted their bitter fruits, multitudes became ready to espouse the cause of a long neglected and vilified Christianity. As by common consent other minds and other principles ultimately became ascendant, and the more valuable, moral interests of the country began to advance, while virtue and religion lent their aid to the order and stability of the state. An interesting chapter is here opened in the literary and religious history of this country.

Passing over a few years we come to the war of 1812. This scourge always brings a train of moral evils and throws up new elements of society, which under no other circumstances would ever rise. In its desolating influence on the institutions of religion, it paves the way for scepticism and vulgar infidelity, as well as for the habits of gross licentiousness.

The immediate terrors of this period passed away, but its demoralising influence continued. The Sabbath was prostrated; moral and religious obligation was weakened, and Christianity had but few advocates in high places. We do not recollect, that, during eight years of one con-

tinuous administration, there was any express recognition of a divine religion from the executive department, and but feeble illustrations of its virtue anywhere at the capital. The plea of state necessity and the advantage of rapid intelligence to the community, legalised the desecration of the Christian Sabbath, and its legitimate result was the general prevalence of a lax morality.

Though there was a season of resting from political animosities, after the battles of this war were fought; there was, at the same time, too much countenance everywhere given to the loose and infidel habits of men. The agrarian spirit began again its work, and seeking to throw off the supremacy of intellect, demanded freedom from the restraints of law and moral obligation. And whatever we may think of the times that succeeded, their moral results cannot be overlooked; and we are bound to refer them to the right source. We have not a doubt, that the best intentions governed the distinguished Chief Magistrate, and we impute to him none of the principles of an infidel philosophy. We looked with lively hope for the results of his elevation, and anticipated much popular reformation; though our fears had not wholly subsided in view of his previous history. We remembered the resolute spirit and the moral daring of the soldier; the vast responsibilities he assumed and the summary justice that he executed. As to the right of such assumption, and the necessities that demanded it, we have nothing to say. However, the great body of the people may now coincide with the judgment then exercised, it was an experiment which the genius of our government will sanction, but at great peril; and though, in a solitary instance, the result may be salutary, the principle at once invalidates our chief security, the *sacred*

*majesty of law.* This is rather a question of casuistry than of constitutional or statute law, and as such, forming the first and only precedent of the kind in this country, should be seriously considered. For if, "*inter arma, silent leges*," then our constitution and laws must yield to the sword, and even the writ of *Habeas Corpus* be left at the disposal of adventitious military power, which the constitution has not trusted to the hands even of the Chief Magistrate himself, nor has it clothed the legislative and executive powers combined, with the authority, to proclaim martial law over *private citizens*, by which they may become subjected to councils of war.—(*See Con., fifth and sixth amendments.*)

How far these acts of military power and of personal responsibility, may have encouraged the general spirit of insubordination that soon ensued, it is impossible to decide. From a variety of concurring causes, all tending to the same end, it required but a solitary commanding example, to settle the opinions and conduct of thousands. Events long maturing were approaching a crisis. The clashings of party and the indomitable spirit of men were impatient of control, and an easier morality was everywhere demanded. Sources of intelligence, and means of moral culture were insufficient, to check the popular licentiousness, and providential scourges were in vain. Pestilence swept like the winds through almost every dwelling, and universal embarrassment succeeded. The demand for a general fast in view of the public calamity, was answered in the language of Jefferson, "*this country knows no religion.*" At this time, the growth of popular and vulgar infidelity became rapid and almost universal. Our cities were full of it, and its halls were crowded with the flower of our youth. Its victims, its preachers,

men and women, domestic and foreign, were every where, and its principles and purposes assumed every variety of shape. It came in the name of liberty, of rational religion, of humanity. In meliorating the condition of society it would reduce its criminal law, by banishing its penalties, demanding the life of no man, the murderer not excepted.

As the natural result of these things, multitudes, casting off moral responsibility, and setting aside all forms of law, entered upon the administration of justice in their own way. The ruffian in the street, the duellist, the enraged legislator, and crowds of excited and reckless men, catching the same spirit, carried forward the fearful work, till law and justice were but a name, and powerless before the storm. To this very hour, the murderer stands unrebuked in the halls of legislation, boldly avowing his adherence to his shameless "code of honor," in open contempt of the laws of God and his country, perjured by the violation of his own oath. Violent and visionary men, contemning the whole system of law, and encouraged by the vapid speculations of transcendental philosophisings, would overturn our entire social system.

The striking parallel of these times with those of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the historian has yet to write—and with a discerning hand to equalize the responsibility involved. In this respect, great injustice may have already been done to individuals, and severe censure fallen, not upon the most guilty. No single man can either cause or cure the multiplied evils that have been inflicted upon us. The disastrous influences of war, a general, corrupt public sentiment, and the violence of party, in the two instances before us, were more powerful than the principles and patronage of any one man, what-

ever those principles and patronage may have been. And we must remember, that it is public sentiment that makes men; rather than men, singly or politically associated, that form the public sentiment, and that, as citizens, we must share in all the responsibilities of public station.

We always love to speak well of our country. We highly prize its institutions; and we regret that the foreign traveller will take no more pains to go into the secrets and the charms of our society, and not judge of us alone from those light elements that float upon its surface. And we regret still more, that the stern virtues and integrity, the intellect and moral sense of the country, have so long slumbered over the violence of party zeal. The result has come upon us, and it cannot be endured. By all confessed, confidence in legislation has been impaired; the press subsidized and often scurrilous; the Senate has impaired its own good name, and the Executive office itself become disrobed of its primitive honor and dignity.

We believe, however, that all this is but temporary, and that even now, it has begun to work its own cure; not so much from the want of elements upon which to act, as from the fact, that the people are tired of it, and that intelligent, moral principle, will no longer allow its ascendency. The elastic energy of Christianity still lives, and God, hearing the cry of his own people, restrains the violence of men.

There are signs of a better day. The more respectable portion of the public journals begins to wear a better character and breathe a milder spirit. The press demands an abatement of its own nuisance, and the redress of public grievances; the cessation of party violence and pro-

scription. All these favorable indications appeal to the Christian citizen, demanding, specially from the moral and religious of all parties their active co-operation.

And in seeking the remedy of public evils, we are not to rely on sudden and revolutionary movements; nor on any rapid succession of changes of men in office and general principles of government. These principles are too firmly fixed, or should be so, to admit of sudden change. The restless and radical spirit that would legislate all evils out of society, and multiply statute law, to reach every action of life, is as hopeless as it is imperious. Social evils do not come upon us in a day, nor can they be removed in a moment. Evils that may now exist, have been of gradual growth, and had their origin in remote and perhaps unseen causes. It is only by substantial industry, virtuous economy, general intelligence, a rigid morality and a *spiritual* religion, that the manliness, order, stability and happiness of the American people can be restored and confirmed. And this, we repeat, is not the work of a day; nor is there any hope of permanent good, but from those *religious* principles, which lie at the basis of the social constitution as well as of private worth and vital piety.

Men, even in the social state, are too much accustomed to charge upon others, specially their rulers, the evils which they suffer. The embarrassments of the community become so identified, and habits of political immorality, are often so incorporated with the administration of the government, and that too with the consent and from the demands of the people, that the government itself loses its power to remedy the evils it may have created, and must wait the action of a correct public sentiment. It is

to that sentiment, that we must look. This is what we all should strive to create.

*The system of purchase and proscription on party grounds*, as a moral question simply, must not be permitted to become the settled policy of this government. "To the victors belong the spoils," must be erased from our records. Promotions to office and removals, on the grounds of party affinities, are alike injurious to those who bestow and those who receive the preferment.

Thomas Jefferson, with whom this system may be said to have had its origin in this country, saw the necessity for an apology, even for its most cautious exercise, at his first installment. It was demanded, he says, that his administration might be harmonious and unobstructed. With this secured, his only inquiry as to qualifications for all subordinate office, should be, "Is he honest; is he capable; is he faithful to the constitution?" But how easily may this inquiry be forgotten, and new qualifications required, at the expense of moral character and the constitution?

The letter addressed to President *Munroe*, upon the subject of his cabinet ministry, from one who succeeded him, is remembered and admired by all. That advice was, to pay no respect to party relations, but to select the best and ablest men, irrespective of such affinities. This, no doubt, was the deliberate judgment of this man of commended "Roman virtue," and it did much towards his own subsequent elevation. But it was one thing, to say how government should be formed and administered, while seated at the Hermitage, and another, actually *so to administer it*, when the burden of its vast responsibilities was assumed amid the storms and waves of

party violence, and the clamors of political aspirants, pressing their conflicting claims. To administer that governmemt now, on principles however correct and clearly defined in calmer moments and under other circumstances, "*hic labor, hoc opus est.*"

It is unreasonable and cruel to raise men to office, and then obstruct its proper functions. We may throw insurmountable obstacles in the way of the very government which we create, and literally shake its foundations by the storms of popular and party violence: and shall we then charge all the evil upon the single man, whom we have thus disabled from acting on his own principles, and from carrying out his own purposes; principles and purposes which we may have sanctioned and admired. There is a species of moral rebellion and treason here, which is no slight peril to the social system. The mariner may lay his course direct from the quiet haven; with fair skies and starry nights sail safely and rapidly on his way: but when storms and winter snows, and dark tempests, "come down upon the sea; when neither sun nor stars for many days appear, and all hope of being saved is taken away;" then he may "undergird," cast his anchors or "unlaid" his burden; but there is "mutiny on board," and amid this "Euroclydon," what can he do? Though an "angel stand by him," the storm does not cease: he is wrecked on a barbarous coast.

Amid the warring of moral elements, what can sterling integrity do? It may resist, long, manfully, unimpaired: But the cry from out the winds of party strife is determined, as it is profane. "Though the administration be pure as an angel's, it shall be overthrown," and the iron despotism of party triumphs: the distinguished victim is sacrificed on the altar of Moloch.

Providential changes and new popular affinities agitate the public mind alternately with hope and fear. The sublimest moral spectacle is seen. The government of millions entirely changed without bloodshed or even violence. But, religious principle and God, we fear, were too much forgotten. The high object of admiration and hope falls to the dust, and a nation is rebuked. It was a salutary lesson, and like Israel of old, congregations of *worshippers* through the land, openly bowed in recognition of the divine chastisement.

Again a noble principle is avowed, and the policy of government defined. "No man shall be removed or proscribed on grounds of party affinities." But the private citizen in view of the chair of state, and the incumbent there installed, are not always one and the same. And in our popular government and social character, the reason for this fact should be seriously considered. Men are human, whether in private life or on the throne; and under the pressure of "state necessity" or for party purposes, may be driven from their own principles, to results which other circumstances would have forbid.

The remedy for all this, we have said, lies with the people, who are the source of power and the virtual executives of the country. It is for them, to raise and incorporate into all the departments of government, those sterling principles upon which it was founded. That false and fatal maxim, "this government knows no religion," must be rebuked by the actual presentation of its power in the all pervading demonstration of its excellence. A government founded on Protestant Christianity; distributing by acts of Congress the Christian Scriptures; holding days of fasting and prayer; requiring belief in the truth of a final and eternal retribution for the validity of

an oath; while every servant it employs must swear fidelity on the inspired records; Such a government "*know no religion!*"

This government knows no particular denomination of Christians and encourages no distinct religious party or form of ecclesiastical polity. But is this knowing *no religion?* There is a common religion—a common Christianity—an accredited Gospel of a Divine Redeemer, which this government from the first acknowledged and incoporated into its elements of common law, and in a thousand ways recognised the claims of its Author. The bare recognition of an overruling Providence is not enough. This infidelity will admit. We must cling to the Christian Scriptures and the Christian virtues.

From admiration of these principles and from deep conviction of their importance to us, we often refer to the spirit and example of our fathers, fresh from their sufferings and strong in Christian faith. We venerate the first Chief Magistrate of our country. There was a sublimity in his character independent of his religion; but it was this, that adorned most the soldier and the statesman, and this will be his lasting monument, when the achievements of his political greatness shall pass away. And hence it was, that the living and dying testimony of his late successor, to the excellence and power of Christianity, came like a divine encouragement to the hopes and prayers of the Christian citizen. It was as the returning of the long loved star, precursor of day.

The great ends of government must ever be kept in view both by the people and their rulers. And when meeting the responsibilities and discharging the duties of *Christian* citizens, *we* may safely confide in the government which we have created, and demand from our rulers

those securities and blessings for which government is ordained.

"Government has something more to do," says Mr. *Webster*, "than to protect industry, and secure to enterprise its due reward." It has, or should have a higher aim. We must regard the moral sentiments of the community. "Amid all the efforts and sacrifices for the advancement of society at the present day, I have thought," says this distinguished man, "that the influence of Government on the morals and on the religious feelings of the community, is apt to be overlooked, or underrated. I speak, of course, of its indirect influence, of the power of its example, and the general tone which it inspires."

"A popular government, in all these respects, is a most powerful institution; more powerful, as it has sometimes appeared to me, than the influence of most other human institutions put together, either for good or for evil, according to its character. Its example, its tone, whether of respect or disrespect to moral obligation, is most important to human happiness; it is among those things which most affect the political morals of mankind, and their general morals also. I advert to this, because there has been put forth in modern times the false maxim that there is one morality for politics, and another morality for other things; that in their political conduct to their opponents, men may say and do that, which they would never think of saying or doing in the personal relations of private life. There has been openly announced a sentiment which I consider as the very concrete of false morality, which declares that "all is fair in politics." If a man speaks falsely or calumniously of his neighbor, and is reproached for the offence, the ready excuse is this—'It was in relation to public and political matters; I cher-

ished no personal ill will whatever against that individual, but quite the contrary; I spoke of my adversary merely as a political man.' In my opinion, the day is coming when falsehood will stand for falsehood, and calumny will be treated as a breach of the commandment, whether it be committed politically, or in the concerns of private life."

"The feelings," he adds, "are to be disciplined; the passions are to be restrained; true and worthy motives to be inspired; a profound religious feeling to be instilled and a pure morality inculcated under all circumstances."

Such sentiments as these, borrowed from the gospel, and sustained by its spirit, the Christian citizen and statesman are to cherish and disseminate. Before these, when pervading private life, and ennobling the offices of state; vulgar infidelity will retire; scepticism refined, lose its charms; public justice re-assume its prerogatives, and law become secure in the open execution of its penalties.

I. From the foregoing considerations of the principles of a free government, the *sacredness of constitutional law and the maintenance of legally administered justice* assume an importance which no Christian nor casuist can for a moment overlook.

The people of this country have long rested in the *fancied* securities of a *government* of *law*. To all suggested fears from abroad and predictions of danger, we have had one standing reply: "*Ours is a government of* LAW, and *not of* WILL." And so confident have we been in this strong guaranty, that few could at all appreciate the value or demand for that patriot and Christian sentiment of Mr. Wirt, pledging his support to "*the Constitu-*

*tion and Laws.*" Still less perhaps, did they see the necessity for the injunction of the dying *Magistrate* "LET THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION BE CARRIED OUT." These great men knew the value of constitutional law. They knew more; the necessity of moral and religious principle for its support and administration: And no doubt their sagacious minds perceived the foreshadowings of evil. Their cautions were needed, and their counsels wise. Experience is a teacher true, and severer still.

This government was established a government of *law*, in contradistinction to a government of *will*. Its founders had long endured the oppression of the one and ultimately broke from its chains. As far as human foresight and providence could do, they framed a constitution and laws for the other. They never dreamed that the subjects of its protection would demand its revulsion; least of all that the hand, lifted in solemn asseveration to maintain it, would ever invalidate its claims or spurn its authority. The restrictions, limits and checks to delegated and executive power, by written law, appeared abundant.

But experience has ever shown, that law, without virtue and religious principle, is vain and powerless. The very body that enacted it and the hand that should execute it, may be among the first to annul and annihilate it.

It has already become a part of history, that the *will* not only of adventitious parties, but the force of *individual will* has far invaded a *government* of *law*, and that multitudes every where have spurned its righteous claims. Long established principles of legislation have been set aside, and what one branch of the government has set up, another has subverted. The enactments of yesterday are annulled to-day, or rudely assailed and erased from

the statute book. *Law* has been shorn of its majesty and the *constitution*, of both our civil and religious liberties greatly impaired. Even the decisions of the highest judicial tribunal have been scorned and set aside. The most sacred treaties have been violated, at the expense of both common and statute law, while men every where assuming the responsibility of law and justice have warred upon personal security and life.

And these things too have met their crisis and a reform is demanded. Regularly administered law with the severe and just infliction of its penalties cannot longer be dispensed with, and "the *principles of the constitution must be carried out*," till, from the humblest cottage to the capitol, their majesty shall be respected and revered. The Christian citizen pledging his respect, obedience and vindication of the constitution and laws under which he lives, and proffering to rulers and magistrates cordial and efficient coöperation, may rightfully expect and demand from them a faithful discharge of their high trust.

II. Another subject, and not wholly foreign to the preceding, is the faithful regard to the *fulfilment of promises*.

The violation of the public faith; denial of justice to the injured and oppressed; the disregard of treaties, and virtual annulling of contracts form a melancholy chapter in the history of this country. State necessity, not only, has been pleaded; but the providence of God towards uncivilized nations adduced in justification of that wasting process, which has driven the original proprietors of this land from home and life, till scarce a remnant remains.

The influence of commanding example, it is impossible

to trace, yet the violations of the public faith may every where be seen working disastrously. What do we now see through the land, but the most fearful delinquency of moral obligation, and alarming efforts to escape even legal responsibility? Entire sovereignties are meditating the hazardous experiment of repudiating their pecuniary obligations; and corporate institutions dissolving into their irresponsible elements, are leaving the innocent to suffer and shaking all confidence in the value of securities and the faith of promises. It may truly be said, that this whole nation, in its very questionable law of bankruptcy, has assumed the fearlul responsibility of legalized repudiation. As a question of casuistry, we must feel that in this act of national supremacy, a giant blow has been struck at the basis of commercial morality, weakening every where the sense of pecuniary obligation.

The influence of these high proceedings has been fast working its way down to the calculations and habits of the more private members of society, who from such precedents, from the laws of bankruptcy, or from their embarrassment and losses, feel at liberty to repudiate their individual debts, and set aside those claims which otherwise would remain sacred.

The doctrine of repudiation in all its forms, as Christian citizens, we must oppose. We would unite the pulpit and the press, the judge and the jury, and every where speak in terms of the most decided condemnation. In the moral and religious community, if no where else, let the faith of promises be unimpaired. Let it be remembered, that he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much, and that he who repudiates his extended obligations, cannot be trusted on the grounds of his honesty, in any of the more restricted operations of life. An unfore-

seen inability to meet our engagements does not free us from responsibility, and no acts of compromise nor laws of bankruptcy can annul that moral obligation, which to a Christian is stronger than human law. Compromise, bankruptcy, repudiation pays no debt, and where either exempts the debtor from the cruelty of an oppressive creditor, it impairs not at all his obligation to meet every engagement, when he shall have acquired the ability to do it. A Christian citizen may rightfully avail himself of the advantages of compromise, or of the laws of bankruptcy perhaps, but after having "provided for his own," that which their necessities demand, he must feel every debt he owes to be binding still.

Repudiation cannot be admitted for a moment any where, and least of all by those communities, which as independent sovereignties exist, not by the supports of ordinary law, but by the faith and honor of nations. How can such a community repudiate its debts? Who are the state? They, who live and are here to-day, are gone to-morrow. But the state lives, and the successors of repudiating rulers live, and with their immunities, must assume the responsibilities and meet the claims of every creditor. We will not believe that one of these confederate sovereignties will ever seriously enter upon this hazardous experiment.

A sacred regard to the faith of promises is no more essential for the support of private worth, than for the reputation and existence of the associated and corporate relations of society, where so many seem to lose their personal responsibility and sense of justice. Still more is this faith essential to the integrity and success of civil compacts. The first may respect but a few; here all are implicated. In one case you pollute the spring that

rises at your own door; in the other, you poison the fountain at which millions drink.

As sovereignties, repudiate our debts? How shall we appear to the eyes of civilized nations? A few years ago, proudly demanding the claims of our citizens and rushing into war with France for a farthing, and now indebted to half Europe hundreds of millions and refuse to pay! Upon our own principles, what have we to say, if demands are made on us in the name of nations, and on the principles of international law, Europe, recognizing us in our national sovereignty, should wade the seas and bury us in our own blood? The justice of our disgrace and doom no American could call in question. Rather a thousand times combine the ample resources of this vast country and restore every member of the confederacy into the credit and confidence of the world. Repudiate our debts, we must not; we cannot. Do it; but it does not pay them; nor cancel obligation, nor liability. Nations are not bound by mercantile laws, that bankruptcy may evade; but honor and moral integrity are the bonds of state; and when we stand bankrupt or repudiate our debts we become disgraced and outlawed from the fraternity of nations, and the civilized world to whom we are indebted, may justly seize on our estate and confiscate our possessions, as we distrain the goods and chattels of the insolvent debtor and equalize his assets to his creditors.

We cannot wholly dismiss this subject without a brief allusion to those habits which have greatly contributed to that embarrassment, which so severely tries the moral integrity of men; and we do so on account of their direct bearings upon the question of morals.

How far the long established usages of mercantile and

commercial life may have contributed to the present condition of society is an important inquiry; and there can be no doubt that a revision is here demanded. There must be something wrong, or such sudden and general revulsions could not so often occur when no providential causes intervene. We would not reject the system of credit, yet all allow that it has been greatly abused. And those who have sought most extensively its advantages, have shared most largely in pecuniary embarrassments. While the men that relied at first on their own limited resources, and persevered modestly, satisfied with moderate profits, are now the men of responsibility and wealth, resting in the valuable reflection that they have been the makers of their own fortunes.

It is not for us to say, that corporate and monied institutions are all wrong, and of questionable moral influence; but the principles and limits of their safe administration seem to be very poorly defined. "A well-regulated institution" of this kind, all allow to be a blessing. But while one of this character is found dispensing its favors, there are thousands which have proved disastrous to all parties engaged in them.

How far such institutions tend to relax moral obligation and weaken a sense of personal responsibility, by presenting temptations to dishonesty stronger than men ought ordinarily to encounter, are questions of serious moment. And whether consolidated wealth, creating powerful monopolies, and subjecting men to dependence upon their pleasure, is not destructive of that kindness and indulgence on the one hand, and of that keen sense of obligation and gratitude on the other, which are the basis and the bond of the social, business community, we are not prepared to decide.

That universal system of operation, which these institutions have adopted, proffering credit not alone to character, business talent and the responsibility of the borrower, but to the pecuniary strength of the security he offers, lays the ground for that mutual deception and distrust which often ends in the bankruptcy of all parties, and the relaxing of a sense of moral obligation in each. The borrower hazards resources that are not his own, and the lender enforces his legal claims on the party that has received no benefit, and the surety, thus unexpectedly involved, while he bows to the stern mandate of the law, never feels that *peculiar* moral obligation which his own immediate contracts create. The obligation may be as strong, but it is of another kind, and as he meets it, under the severity of a rich corporate claimant, reflecting perhaps upon the integrity of the borrower, if not charging him with positive delinquency, there is obviously on all concerned an unfavorable *moral* influence.

It cannot be questioned, that the whole system of credit by associated corporate bodies, and the extended demand for its facilities, judging from the developments of the last twenty years, have produced no very favorable results, either to the pecuniary interest or moral character of the country. Repeatedly has the business and commercial community been severely tried within this brief period, wrecking thousands of extended fortunes, while those who have been most deeply engaged in this system, and those who have sought and enjoyed its facilities, are among the severest sufferers, both in a pecuniary and moral point of view. And we have often thought, that if Solomon, who wrote with inspired wisdom for a people almost wholly pastoral, and to them said, He that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it; and he that

hateth suretiship is sure; A man void of understanding striketh hands and becometh surety in the presence of his friend: And again in direct caution: Be not thou one of them that strike hands, or of them that are sureties for debts: If thou hast nothing to pay, why should he take away thy bed from under thee? We say if Solomon, in a pastoral age and to a pastoral people, thus wrote, what would have been his cautions had he written for the present day? And if Paul, the Roman citizen and the Hebrew of the Hebrews, amid all the enterprise and commerce of the Augustan age, wrote, *Owe* no man anything, but to love one another; writing *now*, would not every epistle speak the salutary admonition, and reveal in decided terms the perils of suretiship and of extended obligations? It has been well said, "the debtor is the natural enemy of the creditor," and where payment is withheld, the creditor becomes the enemy of the debtor, and no disability is ordinarily heavy enough to relieve the unfortunate from severe reflections, if not imputations of actual dishonesty.

Long experience and many recent events have shown that monied corporations afford no increased security to capitalists, nor are we aware, that they create any very enlarged facilities for active business to such as are entitled to credit from their own character, talents and personal responsibilities. On the contrary, we are driven to the conclusion, that from the peculiar character of monied corporations; the security they require, and their relation to the borrower, that there is often less moral obligation felt towards them, than towards an ordinary private creditor, and as none of that interest is directly created towards him, and none of that gratitude which arises from the kind aid of the rich towards the

young adventurer, the better feelings of both are not at all brought into exercise.

Whatever maturity of reflection we may have brought to this subject, and whatever conclusions we may have drawn, such is the state of the world, that but little regard can be secured for them, at the present time, and it is chiefly in a moral point of view, that we revert to this subject at all; though it is forced upon our consideration by the utter absorbing of millions from the widow and orphan, wasted fortunes of thousands and the unparalled moral delinquency of the most responsible and respectable of men, with the almost entire subversion of these very institutions themselves.

We would, however, request the casuist and the expounders of the doctrines of political economy, to bestow further thought upon this subject, both as to its commercial bearings and moral influences. We would ask those men, who in the senate, at the hustings, on the exchange, in the crowded factories, at the land-auction, and amid all the splendor and luxury abounding, so loudly and confidently inquired in 1836, "*What has the credit system done for this country?*" repeat the same inquiry in 1843. The answer shall not be given, in prostrate fortunes, private losses, general bankruptcy and universal embarrassment, but in that wide wreck of moral character, universal distrust, unparalleled dishonesty in high places of trust, which the wealth of commerce cannot repay, nor centuries of national prosperity repair.*

* Mr. Barnard, in Congress, says, that in the United States 90 out of every 100 who buy and sell, become bankrupts; in England, 35 out of every 100. In the United States the creditors receive, on an average, about 8 per cent. from the estates of insolvents; in England, they receive about 35 per cent.

III. The duty of selecting men as Magistrates and Rulers of unimpeached moral integrity.

We are driven to the consideration of this subject, by that party spirit and proscription which so often disturbs and endangers the safety of legislation and the due administration of law. The government of this country is not of that self-perpetuating character which frees the people from responsibility and solicitude in its administration; but it is created by the people, and is ordinarily what they will it shall be. In such a government, nothing is more to be feared, than the administration of party, ever active to perpetuate its ascendency. Chafed by opposing interests, its operations will be embarrassed, and its temptations strong to corrupt by patronage, or overawe by proscription. We have seen too much of this to doubt its reality or question its dangerous tendency.

Under the influence of party, men lose the remembrance of their own avowed principles and pledges in private life. Places of trust and emoluments of office are the bribes which too often stain the hands of executive power and corrupt the aspirants for political preferment. This is virtual bribery, and needs only a competent tribunal for a decision, and it is felony at law.

Every indication of general uneasiness at this party purchase and proscription, is a happy indication of reform, and when private citizens shall refuse to aid all party aspirants, and no more beset the sources of government patronage with petitions for office, either for themselves or others, at the expense and removal of worthy incumbents, then, and not till then, may we hope to see this demoralizing system done away. While men are corrupt enough to sell themselves to the leaders of a party

administration, or to government at all, we fear that there will not be wanting purchasers to pay the price of their profligacy. While we hope to see from every quarter and from every class of the community such decided dissatisfaction with this corrupting policy of patronage and proscription on party grounds, we are confident that an effectual remedy is to be found no where, but in the hands of the people. And it becomes the duty of all the friends of good order and political morality, to speak in decided tones of disapprobation, that a correct and efficient moral sentiment may be created upon this vital question. The great effort should now be, to break up the government of party, to soothe its asperity, and restore the ascendency of moral principle, making capability and honesty the only essential qualifications for office. To effect this, it becomes the duty of the Christian citizen, to select and elevate men as magistrates and rulers of unimpeached moral integrity.

It is not necessary nor desirable that religious men retire from the responsibilities of civil life, but they are required to engage in more vigorous efforts to guard against the increase of that corruption which already so extensively prevails, so that men, without sufficient qualifications may not thrust themselves forward, and by the aid of associates equally unworthy, demand and secure the suffrage and support of Christians, and thus become seated in the most responsible places of trust, as our lawgivers and magistrates, empowered to undermine the morals and best security of the country.

We are required, as Christian citizens, to respect and pray for our rulers and all in authority; that God would raise up good men to make and administer laws. It then certainly becomes our duty to select and vote for such

men, and for such men only, as, from their intelligence and moral integrity, we can safely trust, and for whom we can reasonably implore and expect the divine benediction.

"The exercise of the elective franchise," says Mr. Webster, "is a social duty, of as solemn a nature as man can be called to perform; a man may not innocently trifle with his vote; every free elector is a trustee, as well for others as himself, and every man and every measure he supports has an important bearing on the interests of others as well as on his own."

If we absent ourselves from those primary assemblies, where candidates for office are selected, our conduct towards them should be a decided demonstration of our adherence to correct principles, and our determination to support no man for office who is unworthy our confidence. As Christians, we are bound to adopt this rule of action, and equally so as patriots. We will allow it possible not to forfeit Christian character by rejecting this principle of action, but who can be a patriot and not adopt it? What is patriotism but love of country? Can that be love of country that commits its precious interests to men who will betray them? who can give no guaranty for faithfulness?

Let it be distinctly understood, that we have no reference to party organizations, nor to religious sects. Nor do we demand or advise, that candidates selected for office, shall be professed members of any church communion: But, we do say, that as Christians, we are not at liberty to select and aid in elevating men to places of trust, who have not the requisite qualifications for meeting the responsibilities we impose upon them.

We are aware that, in the present state of party organ-

ization, questions of difficulty may be met which will for a moment greatly embarrass us. But we are never to become, in any sense, the instruments of party dictation, unless we are prepared to be made the victims of party misrule and violence. We are not at liberty to sacrifice our principles as Christians to continue or countenance that political intrigue and corruption which often invades alike the halls of legislation and the sanctuaries of justice.

It is in the power of the moral and Christian community to check at once this giant evil. Not by the organization of new parties; not by the officious obtrusion of religion in any form; but as Christian men of all parties, to decide at once, that under no circumstances shall our countenance or suffrage be given to men destitute of intellectual and moral qualifications sufficient to warrant a faithful discharge of the trust we commit to them.

It may be pleaded that there is *now* a *crisis* and some important interests involved, and that others under the same Christian and moral obligations will not be governed by our example. There will always be a crisis pleaded, and important principles said to be involved. But no crisis is so great, and no principles so important, as *that crisis and those principles*, which we are now considering. The crisis has arrived when virtue and morality, political integrity, or political profligacy and general desecration of moral principle, are to be sustained or abandoned by the moral and religious portions of the community. The great question is to be settled, whether Christian citizens are to be governed by the spirit and laws of their religion in the exercise of their civil rights, or submit to the domination of blind and reckless party zeal. Though Christians, we do not cease to be citizens

of the state, nor can we in one relation, either forfeit or resign the rights and responsibilities of the other. And it is a part, and an important part of our religion, to study and secure the advancement of the public safety and morality, by exercising our civil rights, and meeting our political obligations, with a strict regard to the divine precepts. It is in this way only that we can be good citizens, and at the same time maintain our Christian integrity. It is in this way that we are to prepare the government, which, in common with others of our fellow-citizens, we have framed, to return to us that protection, and to secure those ends for which it was originally designed. It is this way, too, that we may keep out the seeds of corruption and the elements of discord, which other and fatal influences may plant in the vitals of our social system.

We cannot doubt that the best men of all parties desire to see these principles revived and sustained; and we believe that it is in the power of the moral and religious portions of the community to redeem them triumphantly. Their influence should always be salutary, and in many cases it may be controlling, and happily adjust the balance of power in the selection of men for office in every party; and this can be done by refusing to sacrifice or compromit their moral and religious principles to any temporary or party purposes. Not only so, but it is their duty also for the sake of their example, to say distinctly, that they will not be overruled in the disposal of their votes by the decisions of party. The man that sells himself to party, throws away the shield of his virtue and the last security of his patriotism. A Christian citizen cannot do it.

It is upon the foregoing principles alone, that we can

guard against those baleful influences, which in past ages brought on the fatal union of church and state, in which the state was corrupted and the church died.

Already political parties approach whole denominations of nominal Christians with virtual bribes, and seek to bind them to their respective interests by redeemed pledges, which it was wrong to make and which it is robbery to fulfil. At the same time others are rebuked for resisting these approaches, and for their maintenance of constitutional law and moral rectitude.

In the face of all this, we should remember that while Christians, we are also citizens of the commonwealth; and that, in discharging our duties to the state, we are bound by the principles of our religion. We are to render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Civil and political action in all their details demand the conservative influence of a divine Christianity.*

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* The following patriotic and Christian sentiments, are from the aged and distinguished correspondent A. A. of the New-York Observer, whose name is enough to commend his opinions to every one.

"If Christians would exercise their right of suffrage conscientiously, in the fear of God, and with a single eye to his glory; and if pious men, well qualified for public stations, would deny themselves, and consent to go into stations of influence and usefulness, much might be done, if not to purify our halls of legislation, yet to preserve them from total destruction by mingling with them the conservative influence which genuine piety would produce." * * "Let the pious then combine their influence, and bring forward as candidates for public stations, men of piety and talent. It is not meant that a sectarian influence should be brought to bear on our elections. Few things, in a government like ours, are more to be dreaded." * * "The certain consequence of any one denomination attempting to acquire a political influence, will be to unite all other denominations against

## § II. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN FORMING THE CHARACTER OF CIVIL INSTITUTIONS.

WHILE the civil government greatly affects religion, in aiding or checking the diffusion of its spirit, and shaping its ecclesiastical organizations: religion does much towards imparting vitality to government, and in mitigating or enhancing the severity of its features, as well as contributing to the character of its original structure. Hence the iron arm of Pagan and Mahomedan despotism; the almost equal tyranny of Spain and the Italian states. It is from this same reciprocal action of state polity and religion, that we meet every where, with the darkness and cruelty of the Romish communion, the

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them." * * "Let Christians of every denomination unite to elect good men, men of wisdom and integrity, who would honestly aim at the good of the commonwealth." * * "In a government such as ours, good men must come forward and claim and exercise their rights, or the consequences will be fatal. There are already ominous appearances in our political horizon. We have, within a few years, witnessed events which the founders of our political institutions never apprehended. Dangers thicken around our once happy country. While every thing is proceeding prosperously, Christians may be indulged in their love of retirement and peace; but when the republic is in jeopardy, it behooves them to come out and exert their influence to preserve our free institutions, and to ward off those evils which threaten to mar or destroy our peace, order, and liberty. There is no need for them to embark zealously in party politics." * * "It would be wisdom in them to cast their vote in favor of a candidate whose politics differed from their own in regard to the expedience of particular laws and measures, provided he was a truly good man."

most restricted rights of citizenship among the people. We find the mixed and anomalous confederacies of Germany, Holland and Switzerland, with the equally anomalous character of the churches of the Heidelberg and Helvetic faith: the kingdom of Great Britain with its republican and aristocratical Parliament, and its nominal monarchy, clinging to its own fading shadow, with its unstable church, as crowding dissenters and a teeming population are demanding the fullest liberty of the gospel. And hence it is, we have the solitary spectacle of our free institutions with the Scotch presbytery shorn of its original and unscriptural assumptions, and Independency in its various forms, reserving to itself its inherent rights, and acknowledging no superior but its Divine Master.* Every ecclesiastical polity, harmonising with other forms of civil government, is obviously not indigenous to this soil; and whatever may be its pretensions to a heavenly origin, in its outward framework it receives but little sympathy from our free institutions, and its influence upon our civil polity becomes a question of interest to every citizen.

From these considerations we shall speak freely, and we hope kindly, of ecclesiastical institutions as at present existing among us, and as these shall be found to favor the stability of our government and the growth of a *spiritual* religion, they claim our confidence and support.

If we mistake not, there is often gleaming from the lifted folds of the ancient economy, and still more clearly to be met in the Gospel, indications of truths and commanding principles, which go far to settle the nature of that

* It has been said, that Mr. Jefferson was indebted for some of the finest republican features of his Declaration of American Independence to the elaborate constitution of a certain Independent Congregational Church.

government, which is best fitted to the enlightened and Christian state of the world. And with this conviction, we are driven to the consideration, yea, the cordial adoption of those sentiments in religion, and those principles of ecclesiastical polity, which most harmonise with these scriptural views. There are religious sentiments and ecclesiastical organizations which, in their legitimate action, have ever proved themselves friendly to the civil and religious liberties of mankind. It was in view of these sentiments, that the observing and sagacious foreigner, to which we have before alluded, while looking over this country, and searching the more latent causes of its civil immunities, deliberately writes, that, "The religion which declares all are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law." And with equal justice and beauty added, "This same religion is the companion of liberty in all its battles, and in all its conflicts; the cradle of its infancy and the divine source of its claims."

And what religion is this? What are its sentiments and its ecclesiastical polity? This man had gone into the heart of New England, to its firesides, to its social circles of religious culture, and to the republican arrangements of its primitive churches. And it was thence he traced the legitimate action of Christian sentiment and order on the civil institutions and political movements of the country.

If we revert to the days of the Stuarts of England, and the conflicts of those sanguinary times, we shall find a given set of religious opinions in most powerful action, and all tending to the revulsion of long established orders of priestly and church oppression, and which found their end only in the security of personal and equal rights, in the polity of the church, as well as in the order of the

state. If we travel farther into the past, and review the scenes enacted on the continent of Europe, when almost universal darkness and oppression reigned, we shall there find this same peculiar class of religious opinions, working manfully, and ultimately rising in the majesty and power of the Reformation. Their end, at that time, was the same, the security of equal rights in the church, and, as far as the age allowed, an increase of civil liberty. And we may say, that the germ of political, as well as of ecclesiastical freedom, then sprung forth, and we, who now live in all the benefits of both, owe to the Puritan of England, to the Monk of Germany, and the indomitable spirits of Switzerland, more than we can ever pay. We acknowledge the debt, not in insolvency, but in the richness of the treasure, which in faithfulness to them and the world, we must defend and transmit unimpaired.

We need not say, that it was the spirit of the Gospel; a simple, scriptural faith; a church of equal orders in its ministry, and of equality of rights in its members, that governed these men, and girded them for such achievements. We have history as the memorial and preserver of their faith and their aims. And that historian who was no friend to the one and a bitter enemy of the other, has declared that England owes to the Puritans all the liberty she now enjoys.* The commonwealth, under Cromwell, brings double weight to this high testimony. Here was a warring of principles, both political and religious, which cannot be misunderstood. They were the religious principles of Geneva, and the kindred political principles of equal rights among mankind, in both civil and ecclesiastical institutes. And the courtiers of kings, and the courtiers of prelates, together with the presbytery, clamorous

* Hume.

of divine right, were all combined, *haud passibus æquis*, against them.*

At this time it must be acknowledged there were other religious sentiments and other principles of ecclesiastical polity, which were, and ever have been, in vigorous action against the sentiments and principles, both political and religious, of the Reformers and the Puritans. And history has decided as clearly, that these sentiments and orders of church have ever sympathised with governments wholly foreign to our own, and which are at war with its genius and its aims. These, wherever found, must be working against the equalising influence of free institutions, both of the church and the state. If it be true, that "the religion that declares all are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law;" then surely, the religion that declares all men are *not* equal in the sight of God, will demand a distinction in the eye of the law. And is it not so? Who opposed the rise of free institutions in Switzerland, Germany and France? The papacy of Rome. And it does so to this hour. Who opposed the action of free institutions in England? Rome alone? No; but all and equally the fast friends of the Prelacy. Here the prelacy and the papacy go hand in hand. And which warred the best, and waded deepest in blood, let history decide. To whom did the

* The general diffusion of knowledge as well as an increase of civil liberty, was an object uniformly sought by the friends of the Reformation, and the same has steadily been pursued by the advocates for popular rights every where. The most enlightened period of English history, when the foundation of the Royal Society was laid, and many other of her most valuable institutions were projected, was during the commonwealth, under Cromwell. But when did the Romanists, or the fast friends of high church principles, ever unite to advance the cause of popular education?

advocates of the divine right of kings and of passive obedience look, but to the defenders of the divine right of the Prelacy and its apostolical claims to all the immunities of the gospel, and the passive submission of men to their exclusive ministrations? Did not the apostate James I., who, with lifted hands swore to maintain the "solemn league and covenant" of the Kirk of Scotland, become so charmed and intoxicated with this harmony, that as he passed the Tweed, within nine months, avowed it as his daily motto, "*No bishop, no king!*"

And it is seriously doubted whether the English throne could stand and her costly aristocracy live, were it not for her bench of bishops and her exclusive church. The national sympathy between the monarchical aristocracy and the ecclesiastical orders before us, has always been clear and strong, and it was never more so than now, though shorn of much of its power to act.

While we wish as far as possible to avoid the appearance of partizan zeal and all invidious comparisons, it will be necessary for us to speak more often of the papacy of Rome and of the prelacy of England, than of any other parties. Not because these are the only denominations where these principles have appeared, but because they here find, from the politico-ecclesiastical structure of these two communions, their most genial and favorable associations—so much so, that the responsibility of their origin and maintenance lies almost exclusively with them. Yet, let it be distinctly understood that it is principles, and not men or sects, which we are reviewing and from which we are compelled to dissent.

We are all acquainted with the action of these principles in the time of our revolution, and with all the noble exceptions that these times record, there were few to be found who adopted the doctrines of divine right in the

clergy or of exclusive power in any church, that favored the liberal sentiments of the revolution and who joined in the struggles of that day. Men of Puritan principles and faith were the advocates and the founders of our free institutions. Others were sheltered from the storm or retired to the protection of "legitimacy" in their native land.*

The ascendency of the evangelical sentiments of the Reformers and the Puritans has been so general and the minds of the people so engrossed in cares incident to a young and growing country, that little attention has been given to the secret workings of opposing sentiments, or to the growth of other ecclesiastical claims. The decided victory achieved in England at the downfall of the Stuarts, contributed to quiet our fears as to the return of the evils of their disastrous reigns.

But times have somewhat changed, and the shaken dynasties of Europe are looking around for the old securities to the "divine right of kings," in the "divine right of priests" and churches. And if we mistake not, we shall hear again, "*no bishop, no king.*"

We cannot misunderstand the action of Catholic governments on the continent of Europe, and their efforts to establish their faith every where. Nor can we misunderstand that remarkable retrogression in England, of bishops and churches toward the sentiments and usages of Popery. There is obviously a reunion of ecclesiastical opinions and efforts to sustain, not only the divine right of church prerogatives, but the divine right of kings also. And who are sympathising in these movements? Are they the friends of free institutions? Are they the

* It may be said Washington was an Episcopalian, and Caroll of Carolton, a Catholic. True they were, but neither were high-churchmen or exclusive religionists.

friends of freedom any where? It is not for us to disguise the fact that, there are men every where who sympathise in all the movements to sustain and advance these arrogant principles. And we are free to say, that these high church principles any where, and in whatever communion, are hostile to free institutions in the state, and are to be met and opposed alike every where.

There is a tendency in the times to laxness in religious sentiments, to liberty bordering on licentiousness, and these, where Christianity is not wholly discarded, uniformly resort, with boastful confidence, to mere forms and ceremonies, to the rejection of a spiritual religion. This is not confined exclusively to any one communion, but is diffusing its leaven in every direction. Rather, we should say, it is working itself out of every spiritual association of the Christian family, and urging its way back to its original source, the bosom of that communion whence it sprung. We hear the lofty tone of "*divine right*," not alone from the papacy and the prelacy, but sometimes, as of old, from the aspiring presbyter, and even the descendant of the Pilgrims will talk of *his* scriptural system. There is also an unmanly, if not an unholy, effort to reflect upon *that Bible*, which has cheered millions for centuries with its pure translation of the original Scriptures, and a natural demand, that all shall be under *one* symbol or not of Christ. There is also a feeble return to the "habits" and "rags" of the sixteenth century, when the pious and learned Hooper was persecuted and imprisoned, for refusing the "frock and the surplice," at his installment as a bishop. Grave ecclesiastical bodies are commending to their clergy mere articles of dress, while prelates are ordering the arrangements of church furniture, with all the interest that essential verities demand. Just as if, drapery, silk and lawn, had anything to do with

Christ or *his* ministry, or the manner in which the communion table shall stand, with the faith that partakes of its elements. All of this, wherever found, is tending towards Rome, and strengthening the arm of the *Man of Sin.* As Christians, and as Christian citizens, we must protest against it. It is the genius of anarchy in the state, begetting intolerance in political action, as in church enactments.

If we were under the Jewish economy, with the institutes of rites and typical service, we should defend and hallow the mitre, the vest and the fringes of the priestly garments—yea, the candlestick, the snuffers, the incense and the ashes of the altar, we would, if necessary, contend for; but now, we dismiss the whole and believe it both foolish and wicked to carry over to a simple, unsymbolising gospel either Aaronical or pagan externals: and above all when we remember their popish tendencies, how they were once advocated and enforced by the prelacy, what wars they have occasioned, and what blood has been shed in their defense and enforcement upon others, we should more than reject the whole. Yes, with our Puritan ancestors, refuse them for conscience sake, as the symbols and the sanction of a corrupt, false and bloody system.

It is with profound humility and regret that we are obliged in grave discussion to allude to such insignificant puerilities as clerical dress, and but for records of truth, no one could dream of its importance. Its past history demands a notice of its origin. When the church visible went to Rome, with the throne she inherited heathenism, and exchanged the spiritual favor of God for the protection of Cæsar. To adorn and dignify religion, and commend it to heathen Rome, the Roman toga became the

vestment of her clergy; faint resemblance (a thought of after times) to the robe of Aaron. Hence sprung the costly garments of Romanism and the prelacy. And costly they have been to many a conscientious worshipper through ages of exclusion and suffering, and are still no doubt pampering to the pride of the youthful aspirant, who carrying his credentials visible and human, is devout only and can worship best amid gothic towers and cathedral chants, and is holiest of all when kneeling on the *veritable* stair-case of Pontius Pilate in the Church of St. Peter.*

We repeat that the exclusive spirit that would excommunicate all other churches on the ground of a single form, and reject our long venerated Bible for the translation of a word; or that pretended respect for order that breaks up communions, and that more arrogant assumption of titles and rights, temporal and spiritual, from apostolical succession, or by exclusive divine commission, are not to be overlooked or admitted for a moment in this age of light; and we declare of the whole, there is not a shadow of foundation, either in Scripture or in the history of primitive times for their support.

We confess that we have never been free from apprehensions, considering the tendencies of human nature, and that necessity which most men feel for some kind

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* The more conscientious Christian converts rejected the toga or robe, and used the pallium or common cloak: "a plain garment commonly worn by Christians." Hence the heathen derided the Christian, "even to a proverb,"—*a toga ad pallium;* which led Tertullian to write in defense of the *cloak.* The *Roman*, however, ultimately robed the *Christian* through centuries of darkness. See Lord King on the Heathen Origin of Clerical Dress, Prim. Ch., p. 179, and Tertullian "De Pallio."

of religion, that high church Arminianism would yet advance, and in connexion with high church pretensions to "divine rights," corrupt and waste the pure doctrines of the gospel, and war against the principles of the Reformation. We have long watched the natural affinities of the prelacy and the papacy, and we had sometimes hoped that the corruptions of the Romish Church would be laid aside, and that her members, advancing intelligently to the safer discipline of a modified Episcopacy, and under the auspices of a spiritual Christianity, would return to the faith and worship of the primitive believers, with the Catholic spirit and elastic energies of an approaching millennium. But our hopes have been met by this strange retrogression of the prelacy to the cold embrace of the papacy. And if the public mind was not prepared for this religious advancement, it may yet be found best, that the reversion towards popery was thus early, that we might be more sensible of our common danger and the worth of those principles of civil government for which the reformers contended in argument and our fathers in arms.

When we look at these melancholy recedings from intelligent piety and scriptural theology; this return to forms and ceremonies to the undervaluing of the gospel in its simple ordinances; and with this see that assuming air of prelatical authority and the courting of the papacy, and the recommending of *garments* to the clergy of Jesus Christ, better suited to please Parisian women and mere children, than to the simple and spiritual worship of God, we cannot but revert again to the excellent Hooper, "persecuted about clothes," actually imprisoned, fatigued into preferment, and compelled against his will to be made an Episcopal bishop in the "habits" of

popery. We are carried naturally to the times of bare-headed bishops and barefooted friars, coming forth as the ghostly attendants of the dying and the imperious rulers of the living; — to many a Ximenes with hair-shirt and under-garments of canvass, with bread and water, the penance of the spirit, yet with robes of office, the sword of state, and armies of thousands, the symbols and executioners of saintly power. We cannot but remember Parker and Laud wading in the blood of evangelical Christians. The thousand memorials of our father's faith and sufferings come fresh and forcibly before us.

As Christians simply, we might, in view of all this, leave *religion* to take care of itself, and rest assured, that under God, it would survive every difficulty; but as *Christian citizens*, we have something more to do. While we are required to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and are warned of these very adverse influences, we have *civil* interests to protect, which are not only favorable to our social happiness, but friendly to our common Christianity.

§ 1. *The tendencies of High Church principles are, in our view, hostile to the peculiar institutions of our country.**

There may be nothing dangerous to a republican government, in the mere fact that a clergyman is ordained

* In 1830 the author prepared an article on High Church and Arminian principles, which was inserted in the Christian Spectator, Vol. II. p. 120. Being responsible for that article, though anonymous when published, he has transferred to the following pages whatever was suited to his present purpose, without any further notice of its previous publication.

by a bishop, rather than by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." If the power thus delegated is felt and acknowledged to be exercised as a matter of mere expediency, and is liable to be recalled when abused to evil purposes, we can see no serious objection to such a constitution of things, in any community who may think best to adopt it. But when this power is claimed by a few individuals, as concentrating in their persons by a *divine right*, and when obedience to this power is demanded under the most awful penalties of God's displeasure,* it is a serious question, what must be the consequences of yielding to such a claim.

Religious institutions and ordinances are indispensable to our social, civil and national existence. Hence we must have men set apart for religious purposes; and these men, from their station and employment, their talents and character, will exert on the public mind and morals a prodigious influence. But on *high Church* principles, what kind of men are they? Just such as a small number of prelates may please to commission and send among us. The prelate of an entire state, for example, on these principles, claims to hold, directly from God himself, the only power which is known, or can be acknowledged, of commissioning the ministers of Christ for millions of souls. No one can be recognised in this immense multitude of rational and immortal beings, as authorised to engage in the ministry of reconciliation, in any way, or under any ecclesiastical regulations, until he has gone to this "*one man*," subscribed the articles of *his* faith and taken from *his hands*, as the delegated agent of God, the

* See Bishop Hobart's Companion for the Altar, fourth edition, pp. 156—159.

power to preach the gospel of his Son. Unparalleled concentration of power! Every minister within a territory as large as all New England, on whose head the hands of an *Episcopal* bishop have not been laid, must at once leave his people, repair to the altar of prescription, or never again presume to preach the love of God, or break the bread of life. What a scene would be opened in this country by high church principles, carried out into full operation as they unquestionably ought to be, if resting on the authority of God? The whole body of the ten thousand clergy of this country, with the exception of a *few hundred*, are thrown out of the sacred office forever, unless their consciences and their faith could be made to *quadrate* with the standard set up by the smallest body of men among us.

Upon these principles, what man on this continent would possess any thing like the power of an American prelate? And what power is so controlling as religious supremacy—what grasp so unyielding as that of individual authority, rendered fearless by popular submission, and awful as death by the presumed appointment of God? Such must inevitably be the power of those who hold the only authority known or believed to exist, of commissioning the ministers of religion for sixteen millions of people—of saying who shall, and who shall not, preach the Gospel of Christ.

And how shall the people resist the abuse of this power to the worst of purposes? Shall they withdraw from the Church like our Puritan fathers, and seek religious liberty under free institutions! But this is declared to be "rebellion against the Almighty Lawgiver and Judge;" exposure to the "awful displeasure of Jehovah;" at least, there is the utmost reason to believe so, and none

to believe otherwise. This is declared to cut off the soul, at once, from all known, covenanted title or hope of eternal life. And as we are supposing the whole community to be fully enlightened on this subject, no one can be weak enough to sacrifice the salvation of his soul, for the poor recompense of maintaining the rights of a freeman. And if he attempts to do so, he must encounter all these fearful consequences, the rebuke of his diocesan, and the resistance of subordinate clergy, who are ever dependent upon his smiles.

Let high church principles be universally embraced in this country, (as they ought to be if they are correct), and we have at once an ESTABLISHED HIERARCHY, resting, not on the weak basis of human enactments, like the English Church, founded as an establishment by Henry VIII.; but on the immutable command of God himself! For the clergy of this church we are bound in conscience and by divine injunction, to provide a full and honorable support. "Let him that is taught in the Word communicate with him that teacheth in all good things." This support must all go only to such religious teachers, as a few prelates think proper to appoint and ordain. The people have no option in the case but this, they may, perhaps, arrange among themselves how to *dispose*, in the most satisfactory manner, of the individuals whom the diocesan shall designate for the care of their souls. The power of the men, too, thus commissioned, is tremendous. It lies with *them* to administer or withhold those sacraments, which, in the words of the high church historian, "are necessary to salvation." It is madness to hesitate, for a moment, in yielding implicit obedience to *those* who have the awful prerogative of granting or withholding a "covenant title" to eternal life, or to array

ourselves in "rebellion against (our) Almighty Lawgiver and Judge," by refusing to receive the rites of his religion, on those conditions, which his "regularly ordained clergy" may think proper to prescribe. But what will be the consequence of such power in the clergy? Unless we shut our eyes to all past history of our race, and suppose that God has conferred an absolute *infallibility* on the priesthood which he has placed over us, with such awful sanctions to enforce our obedience, we know and are certain, that this authority *will* be abused, in a manner totally inconsistent with our rights and privileges as freemen.

And who is ignorant of the practical operation of high church principles, where they have acted without restraint? What principles created and sustained the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber? Who advocated the arbitrary measures of the House of Stuart? "Who opposed the glorious revolution of 1688?" And, in the language of Dr. John Rice, "who were the enemies of our own *more* glorious revolution? *High churchmen, the world knows.*" In the language of this, one of the ablest men of our age, we declare, "on the other hand, in all these instances, low churchmen and dissenters, united heartily and co-operated vigorously." "The faithful records of history afford, on this subject, a series of most instructive facts, and warrant the strongest conclusions as to the tendency of high church principles."*

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* "High Churchism and Toryism," says Dr. Bethune, "have ever gone hand in hand in England."—Horsely says, "Calvin was unquestionably a Republican," and adds, "that he endeavored to fashion the government of all the Protestant churches on republican principles."

A prelate in this country has it in his power, to a great extent, to secure the prevalence and succession of his own sentiments and practices, whatever they may be; for he appoints the clergy of his diocese, and they are such and only such, in sentiment and character, as he is pleased to commission. And they with the associated members of their own vestries, are to elect a successor to *him* who has thus created *them*. It is not difficult to see how certain this succession may be made, and how long the influence of error and religious intolerance may be perpetuated. To recall the power invested in *one man* by popular consent, is more difficult than to destroy the *hereditary despotism* of ages. And we ask, has not power and influence, established by the means be-

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"In the time of our Revolution, a Presbyterian loyalist was a thing unheard of," says William B. Reed, Esq. of Philadelphia; and he adds, "The debt of gratitude which independent America owes to the dissenting clergy and laity, never can be paid." This gentleman presents us with the following extract from a letter written by a tory of the Revolution, residing in New-York, two years before the Declaration of Independence. "You will have discovered that I am no friend to Presbyterians, and that I fix all the blame of these extraordinary American proceedings upon them. Very few Church of England people were among them. The Presbyterians have been the chief and principal instruments in all these flaming measures, and they always do, and ever will act against government, from that restless and turbulent anti-monarchical spirit, which has always distinguished them every where, when they had or by any means could assume power, however illegally."

James I., writing to Lords Jermyn and Culpepper, in answer to the request to abolish Episcopacy, says, "Show me any precedent, wherever presbyterial government and regal was together without perpetual rebellions. . . . Indeed, it cannot be otherwise, for the ground of their doctrines is anti-monarchical."—"No BISHOP—NO KING."

fore us, been already exerted even in this country with great and unsparing effort, and with pernicious effect? Have not the noblest designs of Christian charity; the exalted enterprise of giving the Bible to every family in our land; the most generous efforts for the instruction of oppressed Christian nations, or of the heathen world, lying in wickedness been repeatedly shut out from nearly the whole of an extended diocese by a single word? "The BISHOP does not approve of these efforts, he thinks it improper for any one to solicit our aid for such objects"! A hundred churches are instantly closed, and ten thousand hearts are steeled against those men, who are pleading perhaps for those very charities, which originated in the zeal and piety of the evangelical of the English Church. We forbear to allude to other instances of prelatical authority. We call in question no man's motives. We undertake not to decide whether any individual has acted right or wrong, in the exercise of the power thus assumed. But we do ask, must not that *system* be wrong, hostile to our liberal institutions and pernicious to the interests of true religion, which thus tends to place the consciences of a whole diocese under the control of a *single man*, and to make our religious charities, the noblest characteristic of the present age, dependent on *his will*, and the faith of the whole community to be governed by *his dictation?* "Religious principles will be felt every where. No circle of private life, no department of government, but must feel them. They belong to the mind itself." What then must be the effect on freedom of mind among us; on the exercise of private judgment, and above all on the rights of conscience, if such a system should ever become predominant in this country? The history of the world gives but one answer.

While therefore we see nothing hostile to our free institutions in the Catholic spirit of those, who acknowledge every other evangelical communion to be equally with themselves, a part of the Church of Christ, we believe that nothing but a standing miracle could save us from the consequences of a general prevalence of High Church principles, giving as they do to a few men, chosen for life, the only known power on earth of commissioning ten thousand clergy, and clothing that clergy with the awful prerogatives of granting or withholding these sacred ordinances, without which it is maintained, there is no known covenant of mercy, or promise of eternal life. If this be truth, and if these principles must generally prevail among us, we can only say, that the less must yield to the greater, *the freedom of our country to the salvation of our souls.*

We must then look at the legitimate and ultimate results of these things, and the light of past times must guide us. We must look at the natural sympathies and the strong affinities of these principles, with that more arrogant and superstitious communion which has ever warred against all freedom of opinions in religion and of all freedom in the walks of civil life. Which has alike her inquisition, and her fires for the heretic in the church and the rebel in the state.

We say then let the baleful advances of popery, and the supercilious air of the prelacy awaken our vigigilance to guard our rights and principles. Let the people see to it and let the ministry be careful to hand down unimpaired and unsullied both the symbols of their office and the spirit of its devotion. The way is open and easy, the steps are natural and rapid from the corrupted spirit of religion to veneration for its empty externals and fiery

zeal for its symbols, till you reach the mandate for entire conformity or the lighted fagot that shall frighten the heretic and consume the dissenter. As face answereth to face in water, so the heart of man to man. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun. Standing where we do do, let us never contribute to that intellectual debasement and moral corruption, that shall demand the re-enactment of scenes of terror still fresh and vivid before us. Let the wars of Grenada and the slaughtered jews of Spain*; the carnage of St. Bartholemew's day in France†; the millions of confiscated estates and the butchered thousands of papal Rome and of the English hierarchy,‡ ever admonish us of what human nature can be and what human power can perpetrate in the name of religion. We would be watchful and jealous of the symptoms of ecclesiastical usurpation and refuse the badges of every *exclusive* order, lest we yet be required to give the same reasons for their rejection, that our fathers gave when dis-

* Not less than from fifty to a hundred thousand Jews were supposed to have died from persecution, during the reign of the amiable Isabella, while hundreds of thousands were expelled from her dominions, for the honor and purity of the Roman religion.

† More than thirty thousand Protestant Christians were slain in France, on this memorable anniversary and within the space of thirty days following, many of whom had been decoyed to Paris, for the purpose of destruction.

‡ Not less than eight thousand persons are said to have died in prison and at the stake in England alone, without including those slain in Scotland and other places, for having refused to submit to the Acts of Conformity. The names of sixty thousand sufferers, on account of religion, are recorded, between Charles II. and William. The pecuniary damages sustained by the Puritans, have been estimated between fourteen and fifteen millions sterling.

senting from their Church and driven in exile from their country or burnt at the stake.*

But it may be said, the "*divine right*" must be maintained, and the "apostolical succession" preserved, whatever may be the bearing of ecclesiastical organizations upon civil institutions. Although it transcends the limits assigned to this review, this requires a brief consideration.

By the "divine right" and "apostolical succession," as here used, is meant, an exclusive privilege and power claimed by some single and separate denominations, as the only *true* church, and secured to such as they shall appoint by their spiritual heads, to illustrate and administer the ordinances of the Gospel. For their peculiar ecclesiastical forms and arrangements, they claim the sanction of the Scriptures. All other professed churches, as they would designate them, and all ministers connected with them, they declare without authority from Christ, and without sanction from the Gospel. This *right* and this *succession* are claimed by the Romanists and by one section of the Episcopal denomination, to the exclusion of all other churches. While some of other sects may have occasionally advanced their claim to the same right and succession, it has not been to the utter exclusion of all other branches of the Christian family. This has been reserved for the Romanists and the high church

* We hope to be freed from the charge of invidious comparisons by so closely associating the papacy and the prelacy in this discussion; but we have found it impossible to avoid it; and as their natural affinities are now so extensively claimed and by comparatively so few, of either party denied, we shall be excused for not being able to keep them more distinct.

party of the Episcopal denomination. To these our attention is of course at this time restricted.*

If the prelacy of the Episcopal church is of divine *right* or of exclusive scriptural authority, whence did Henry VIII., with his revengeful and adulterous designs, secure it? His unfaithfulness to his own wife, and his revengeful spirit towards the Roman pontiff, for refusing him divorce, led this haughty monarch of England to interdict all commercial intercourse with Rome, and to annex the *ecclesiastical supremacy* to his own crown. Forever after, it was ordained by his Parliament, "*that the king is the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England.*" Thus severed from Roman supremacy, the English church became established in its present Episcopal character. Its head was found at Westminster, in Henry VIII., rather than in his holiness on the Tiber. Did this act of a faithless and profane sovereign unite the discordant and corrupted elements of the English communion to Jesus Christ as his church, and breathe into the dry

* Bishop Hobart says, "That none can possess authority to administer the sacraments but those who have received a commission from the *bishops* of the church." No one supposes that Dr. Hobart would allow any to be *bishops*, but Episcopal. Mr. Howe, once the pride of his party, and whose writings are still of high authority, says, "In her standards, the Episcopal Church expressly declares, that there have been three orders of ministers from the Apostle's times—and *that no man shall be accounted a lawful minister without Episcopal ordination.*" "The only appointed road to heaven is through the visible church on earth." "Aliens from the church have no covenanted title."—Comp. for the Altar and "Letters to Miller." The late Bishop Ravenscroft and others are equally exclusive, and the whole Episcopal denomination, with but few exceptions, practically exclude all other churches from the fellowship of the Gospel.

bones of this sepulchre the vitality of spiritual being? Was all this done by a divine right, and did it secure apostolical succession? Was it by the same right, and in virtue of this succession, that Elizabeth consolidated the English Establishment in its present form?

Did Christ ever constitute revengeful and lascivious princes, with their regal power and the sword, the conservatives and head of his spiritual flock? Take the history of this Establishment in the line of its high pretentions, compare it with the simplicity and spirituality of the gospel, and the answer is at hand.

It may be said, that this Establishment or the Episcopal Church are of divine right, as coming down from the Romish communion, part and parcel of the papacy, transmitted from the polluted hands of the Man of Sin. Be it so. This very claim destroys its *exclusive character*, and it can, at best, but share its honors in common with the very church it repudiates.* Tracing its powers and immunities there, does it become invested with an *exclusive* "divine right," bearing away from that establishment all its boasted prerogatives? Does the apostolical succession *rest* here? Where does the Romish church find this succession, and the divine right on which it relies? Amid the darkness, confusion and blood of

* We have never yet been able to discover the validity of these claims to "the succession," as borrowed from the Roman See. It would seem that the prelacy destroyed their claims to this succession, by tracing it to Rome, and, upon their own principles, leave it with the northern presbyter; for the former were wholly excommunicated by the Pope, and every clerical and ecclesiastical power was revoked, while the establishment of the Presbytery at the north remained unassailed, many of whose clergy were acknowledged to be regularly constituted ministers, having received Episcopal ordination.

those troubled ages, *where?* In the East or in the West? At Rome or at Avignon? And when the threefold contest was waged, where was the divine right and the succession? The Romish church, whence the Episcopal professedly borrows its origin, has never settled the question, where this "*right*" lay, and through which dark channel the "succession" flows. Whence then, we may well ask, does the prelacy of England, receive her divine right and prided succession? From Rome, they ever reply. As soon would we search for the pure springs of Jordan in the dark and tideless waters of the Dead Sea, whence nothing ever flows to cleanse or refresh. We are not astonished at this searching for "a divine right and apostolical succession," amid the conflicts of rival popes, and in the darkness and abominations of the "Mother of Harlots." Some subjects are most ably defended amid confusion and night.*

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* On the principles of the High Church there appears to be no possibility of tracing an unbroken succession. Archbishop Whately says, "Who can undertake to pronounce, that during that long period, usually designated as the dark ages, no such taint (a broken succession) was ever introduced. Irregularities could not have been wholly excluded, without a perpetual miracle. We read of *bishops consecrated when mere children;* of men officiating who barely knew their letters; of prelates expelled and *others put in their places by violence;* of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to holy orders." T. Babbington Macauley says, (Essay Am. Ed., Vol. III. p. 299, "Extreme obscurity overhangs the history of the middle ages, and the facts which are discernible through that obscurity prove that the church was exceedingly ill-regulated. We read that sees of the highest dignity were openly sold, transferred backwards and forwards by popular tumult; bestowed sometimes by a profligate woman on her paramour; sometimes by a warlike baron on his kinsman, *a mere stripling.* We read of *bishops of ten years*

Bishop Hoadley well says, "I am fully satisfied that till a consummate stupidity can be happily established, and universally spread over the land, there is nothing that tends so much to destroy all due respect to the clergy, as the demand of more than can be due to them; and nothing has so effectually thrown contempt upon a regular succession of the ministry, as the calling of no succession regular but what was uninterrupted; and the making of the eternal salvation of Christians to depend upon that uninterrupted succession, of which the most learned must have the least assurance, and the unlearned can have no notion, but through ignorance and credulity."

But it may be said, the *media descendendi*, or the hands through which it comes down, is not at all destructive of the divine right transmitted from Christ; and that the succession may legitimately lie here. But where is the proof that it was transmitted from Christ, or by him ever committed to such hands? We will soon state the impossibility of any such conclusion.

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*old;* of *five years old;* of many popes *who were boys.*" The state of Ireland was still worse, and after mentioning the manner in which ordinances were administered, he adds, "*we are at a loss to conceive how any clergyman can feel confident that his orders have come down correctly.*" "It is probable," he adds, "that no clergyman of the Church of England can trace up his spiritual genealogy from bishop to bishop even so far back as the time of the Reformation. There remains fifteen or sixteen hundred years, during which the transmission of his orders is buried in utter darkness." Baronius, the strenuous defender of his church, acknowledges all this, and yet boasts of apostolical succession. A correspondent of the London (Episcopal) Record informs us, that it is well known that the baptism by Episcopal hands of Archbishop Secker, Bishop Butler and Archbishop Tillotson, has been called in question, and never clearly proved. What then, on Episcopal principles, becomes of the succession?

And we would here ask, on the ground of these exclusive pretensions, with what consistency is Scotland received into favor, with her iron-handed faith, "her league and covenant," ever at war with the prelacy? Here are legalized ministrations, valid if not of divine right; while the prelate becomes the dissenter, without favor from the crown, with no validity to his own ministrations though claiming unbroken succession from Christ himself.* Why is Presbyterianism north of the Tweed, so legitimate, divine and valid, while south of that narrow stream, it is schismatical, unauthorized and invalid, so that not even the grace of God can extend "covenant mercies" to its own subjects? But for living examples, who would dream of such trifling with a spiritual and divine religion, left to us in the gospel, so pure in its doctrines and so simple in its forms?

We prefer to leave both Rome and Canterbury, and borrow divine right and our succession from Jesus Christ, not from any pretended virtue in his incarnate hands or of the "presbytery" that succeeded him, but from the gift of his grace and the Holy Spirit to all that believe. On this foundation we build both the church and our hopes; and all of every name who rest here we receive as Christians, asking and enforcing no rites but the simple ordinances significant of the Spirit and of the Cross; and even these we require, not for their own virtue to

* It is a question of some interest how men who are so tenacious of this "divine right," can recognize three separate denominations as legally in possession of its immunities: as in Canada, where the papacy, the prelacy and the Scotch presbytery, are admitted to privileges, under the sanction of her majesty the head of the English Church Establishment and of the bench of spiritual lords, the sworn defenders of an exclusive succession.

save, but as the pledges and symbols of things unseen and spiritual.

The church looks for her ministry, called of God, as was Aaron, not sent as Tetzel from Leo X. She expects the grace of God in their ministrations of *truth;* not from baptisms, indulgences, confirmations and extreme unction, which the price of Simon Magus might purchase. We ask for our clergy the attending and attesting symbols of the Holy Spirit, and not the worshippers of a formal Christianity, that talks more of *the church*, its ministrations, "covenant mercies," its liturgy and shadowing rites, than of justification by faith, the sovereignty of God in regeneration and holiness of life. We require ministrations that shall abase the soul with the consciousness of its own guilt and wretchedness, and that shall exalt God alone in the work of its renewal and reunion to himself. With such qualifications and such a succession we are satisfied. We have here a living, divine right, and a true apostolical succession.

And yet we would by no means speak lightly of the ministerial succession, or call in question the divine right to all the powers and immunities which belong to that succession. We believe there is a divine right to preach the gospel and administer its ordinances, and that this right may be traced back in the line of the Church of Christ, whose ministers are to be acknowledged as his, and are owned to be such by the attending influences of the Spirit.

The inquiry becomes important, what constitutes a legitimate succession to the first apostles of Christ? We say to the apostles, yet we wish to be understood, that there were no successors to the apostles, as such. The *apostles had* no successors. From its very nature

their *apostolic office* ended with them. They were appointed and invested with power for a special purpose, to carry out the designs of Christ in founding a new religion. For this end, the power of working miracles, the gift of tongues and inspiration were conferred upon them; and who shall presume on a succession to these divine investments? When we ask, then, what constitutes a succession to the apostles of Christ, we speak of them only as ministers of the Gospel, in distinction from their character as apostles.

To answer this inquiry, what constitutes a legitimate succession, we must ascertain what constitutes a valid, authorized, and divinely acknowledged clergy. With *them*, we shall find the true succession without controversy. We shall not at this time discuss the question of spiritual qualifications, and the various evidences of an accepted ministry. It is enough for us to say, that the mere consent, or transmission of power from one set of men to another, to administer external ceremonies, can no more unite them to the evangelical, spiritual, and accepted ministry of the Saviour's original designation, and entitle their ministrations to human respect, and the divine approbation, than the garments of the rabbies and priests of the Jewish service, can constitute the officiating servants of the synagogue, the true Israel of God. The elements essential to the accredited ministery of Christ are not to be found in anything merely external; and these, by whomsoever handed down, can form no true succession. The thing is utterly impossible. Neither the qualifications for the ministry, nor the succession to its immunities rest here. If the *charter* on which every true church must be founded and the *spiritual* succession are not here, the nominal descent is but an empty name.

The doctrines and principles of the Bible, Christ and his Spirit, may not be there, and if not, the true apostolical succession cannot be. The principles and doctrines of the Bible are the *charter* of all ecclesiastical rights, and the *spirit* of these is essential to a valid ministry.

These principles do not sanction the least laxness of sentiment or practice, either as to the church or the ministry. So far from encouraging a presumptous advance towards the ministry, on personal or individual responsibility, they repel the claims of every one to confidence, but upon the highest and clearest scriptural authority.

And when asked is there any such thing as a divine warrant or scriptural authority for the office of the ministry, we unhesitatingly answer yes; and we look for the authority of this ministry in the divine right which rests in the church to confer it; but which by no means belongs exclusively to any one denomination. It is one of the inherent and inalienable prerogatives of Christians, to carry out their principles and the purposes of the gospel, and for this they must have a ministry. Christians, called of God, and united in the fellowship and ordinances of the gospel, are a true Church of Christ, both scriptural and apostolical; and whoever is here set apart for the administration of the ordinances, comes into the possession of a *divine right*, and with proper spiritual qualifications, has all the elements of a true minister of Jesus Christ.

The only question that can here arise, respects the proper organization of a church, or what shall entitle it to a scriptural character, or the divine right essential to such a communion.

We affirm that when any body of men become associated upon the principles of the gospel, and for the pur-

poses for which it was given, receiving its doctrines, and cultivating its spirit, they constitute a true Christian church invested with a divine right, the powers and immunities of a scriptural succession. Where two or three are gathered together in my name, says the Saviour, there am I in the midst of them.*

Governments, when properly organized, become "the powers that are ordained of God," and in his name may assume and exercise all the prerogatives which the Scriptures authorize, and the good of the body politic demands. In no other sense, and in no other way, are there any divine rights of kings, and kingdoms, or any offices of trust. And no one will deny that "the pow-

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* Ireneus speaks of that church, which is in any place. Ea quae est in quoque loco Ecclesia. Lib. 2, cap. 56, p. 158. Dionysius Alexandrinus says that, "when in Lybia, there came so many Christians unto him that even there he had a church." Euseb. lib. 7, p. 259. Tertullian thinks that three were sufficient to make a church. Ubi tres Ecclesia est. Exhort. ad Cassitat. p. 457. See Ecclesia Romana, Cyprian Epis. 31, &c.

"A church," says Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England, "the usual and common acceptation of the word, is a society of Christians, meeting together in one place, under their proper pastors, for the performance of religious worship and the exercise of Christian discipline.

"The constituent parts of a church are called εκλεκτοὶ, the "elect," αδελφοὶ, the "brethren," and πὶστοὶ, the "faithful." Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. ad Eccls. Philomel. Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 134.

"The Church of God," says Lightfoot, Vol. VII. p. 39, "are those or that company that worship or serve God throughout the world. This God has had since the beginning; but we cannot say that he hath ever had a visible church. Visible churches (p.47) have died generation after generation, yet the true church, he adds, like the soul of man, lives, though unseen." With this corresponds the Scripture representation of the *Church of Christ* which he has *sanctified*.

ers" of government "are ordained of God," though they have no unbroken succession, as to the agents that administer them, and are every day changing in their structure and modes of administration. And government when corrupt, rejecting the principles upon which it was founded, the inalienable rights of men, may be supplanted, utterly destroyed, and *that authority* which rises on its ruins, becomes the "power that is ordained of God," and bears the sword in his name. And surely *no one government* amid the thousands of this world, can claim an exclusive possession of right; to be called, by way of eminence, THE GOVERNMENT, or *the "power* ordained of God," to the rejection of all others, and assume authority over all others. Shall England, venerable and powerful as she is, erase *this* country from the list of nations and reject our ministers of state? Can she denationalize France, dethrone her citizen king and dismiss her envoys to the continent? Is there no government but that of England? With all her empire, armies and navies, let her claim pre-eminence and exclusive rights, and the world would laugh at her folly and spurn her powers. No more can any *one church* claim pre-eminent and exclusive prerogatives, and say to all others, you have no divine rights, no valid and legitimate succession in your ministry; you are *no church!* This is incomparably more absurd than the high demand for universal temporal authority, as the mind and soul of man are freer and more indomitable than mortal sinews, and truth and grace like the unchained elements of life, free to all, and making all men free.

As we see what it is in governments, that constitutes "the powers that are ordained of God," so it is equally clear, what it is, that lays the foundation for a divine

right and its succession in the church. It is the organization of the *one* on the immutable principles of moral obligation, inalienable rights, recognized and enforced in the word of God, that makes it a government: and it is the reception and belief of the doctrines and principles of the gospel, and the governing power of its spirit, that constitutes the other *the Church of God.*" The Bible, and the Bible only," says Chillingworth, "is the religion of Protestants." The Bible is the divine charter on which the church is founded. These oracles of God become our confession of faith and our common law. The divine right thus secured, is transferred, not as senseless heraldry, by will and deed; but who ever have the Bible, embrace its truth, submit to its laws and cherish its spiritual vitality, inherit its immunities and succeed to the honors and powers of the true, Apostolical church. We would ask if any thing else can, by whomsoever conferred?

Here is a right borrowed from God; the succession of a spiritual Christianity, which cannot be resolved into mere externals, nor secured by seals, rites, symbols, keys, any or all of human investments, from which every thing vital and spiritual may have fled. Who would look for the succession of a Christian church and a spiritual ministry in the hordes of merciless and profligate monks, or in the "fox-hunting clergy" of England, and deny it to Baxter, Cranmer and Bunyan, holy men of God, persecuted for righteousness' sake and doing wonders in the name of Christ? We should as soon think of Bonaparte, wasting on his ocean rock, and his wandering family as the ruling powers of continental Europe, to the rejection of the rightful sovereigns, or regard the asphaltic slime pits immercing the fallen towers and palaces of Babylon, the living city of millions.

We are happy to recognize as Christians, and find our fellowship with Leighton, Sherlock and Tillotson, valiant for the truth and powerful amid the profligacy of courts: or with Massillon and Bourdaloue, rebuking sin on the throne. And no less do we rejoice to commune with Fenelon in exile persecuted, yet radiant in the charity and glory of Christ; with Oberlin warm-hearted amid the mountain snows of Switzerland; with Felix Neff on the icy Alps, and with Owen and Doddridge, and Pearce and Fuller, and all the humble followers of Christ, doing good in his name, and gathering the credentials of their office and their spirit from the renewing power of God.

While we admit then a qualified divine right to every Christian church and to their ministers acting under *the great commission*, and with those spiritual qualifications, which are essential to the functions of their office, we must remember, that when these qualifications depart, their commission expires, and the 'divine right' passes away. And though the name may sound as lofty and its ministrations be increasingly splendid and costly, all is cold and dead. The shrine may stand beneath the splendid dome and gilded minerets, but the divinity has departed. The church of Christ and his ministry are not here.

We trust that from this brief and imperfect statement of an important argument, we shall not be charged with being indifferent to government in the church, any more than in the state. We would shut the avenues against an unauthorized ministry, in the one, as resolutely as we would resist the assumptions of self-appointed rulers in the other.

We cannot leave this subject without a brief notice of

the origin of that distinction in the Christian ministry which is one of the strongest supports of the principles before us. We allow that the Jewish church had her rich ceremonial, her temple service imposingly splendid, her officials of many grades and her High Priest with duties peculiar and powers divinely delegated. That this, however, affords support for any peculiar and exclu- ecclesiastical organization under the gospel, we have yet to learn. This is another dispensation; and what has it, for a *priest* to do? Where is the altar at which he shall sacrifice? What are the victims that are to bleed in his hands? Claiming to follow in the footsteps of Christ, the High Priest of our profession, the minister at the altar must himself become the victim. And claiming apostolical succession as to office, we ask, where are found the attending credentials of the apostolical commission? Where are miracles and inspiration? and who receive the Holy Ghost and speak with tongues, beneath even associated prelatical hands?

The Gospel never assumed, in any of its forms and early services, the ceremonial of the ancient economy. Introduced by its divine Author, it rose with its unassuming form and simple spirituality, in the *synagogue*, rather than in the imposing temple service.* And no one can fail to

* "It appears highly probable," says Bishop Whately, "I might say, morally certain, that wherever a Jewish synagogue existed, that was brought, the whole or the chief part of it, to embrace the Gospel, the Apostles did not there so much form a *Christian* church, (or congregation, Ecclesia), as *make an existing congregation, Christian.*" Hence this author justly concludes, that we have so little said about the ministry and the constitution of church government. These institutions had little of novelty, not originating wholly with the Apostles. The officers of the synagogue became the officers of the church, and its simple services were continued, with no great change as to externals.

see how simple, unaffected and unostentatious were the ordinary devotions of the synagogue. Tracing the repeated services of the Redeemer with his disciples, and the frequent assemblings of his followers, subsequent to his ascension, there is found nothing of the imposing ceremonial of the Jewish temple service; no gorgeous vestments of the ministerial office, and no apparent distinction in the powers of the apostles and their immediate successors, as the preachers of the Gospel.* They established churches every where, and the ministers of these churches were called Bishops or Presbyters. Each church had its bishop, and these were generally not as numerous nor as extensive as the ordinary parishes of city and country clergymen at the present day. "As for the word diocese, I do not remember," says Lord King, "that I ever found it used, in this sense, by any of the ancients; but there is another word, which they frequently denominated the bishop's cure, and that is *parish*.† We read of the parishes of Asia, the parish of Ephesus, of Corinth, of Athens, and of the parish of Carthage.‡ So that a parish," in the language of Lord King, "is the same as a particular church, or a single congregation.§ These parishes had their respective "bishops or ministers, one bishop to a church, and but one church to a bishop."

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* "Whatever a bishop did, the same did a presbyter." "Bishops and presbyters were of the same order." "They had one and the same name—each being indifferently called bishops or presbyters." Clemens Romanus, sustained by Polycarp's exhortation to the Philippians, abundantly confirm these opinions. See Lord King: Euseb. lib. 5, Cap. 14, p. 193,—Cap. 24, p. 193.

† Ireneus to Pope Victor, twice speaks of the bishoprics of Asia, as parishes. Τῶν παροικιῶν. Euseb. lib. 5, Cap. 14, p. 193.

‡ See Euseb. lib. 2, 3 and 4.

§ See Dissertations of Appollonius against Alexander the Heretic.

1. All the people of one diocese, parish or church, met together in one place, "where," says Justin Martyr, "the bishop preaches and prays." 2. "The bishop had but one altar or communion table in his whole diocese, at which his whole flock received the sacrament from him," "There is but one altar," says Ignatius, "as there is but one bishop.* 3. The bishop also baptized all that received this ordinance in his diocese. 4. "The charities of the church were deposited with the bishop," as Justin Martyr says; "he was the common curator and overseer of all the orphans, widows, diseased, strangers, imprisoned, and, in a word, of all that were needy and indigent." 5. "All the people of the parish (or diocese) were present at church censures, as Origin describes an offender, as appearing "before the whole church." 6. "The offender was not restored without the knowledge and consent of the whole diocese." "They were to plead," says Cyprian, "their cause before all the people."† 7. "When the bishop was dead, all the people met together in one place to choose a new bishop;"—"by the suffrage of all the brotherhood," says Cyprian. *De universæ fraternitatis suffragio*—"by all the brethren who were met together in one place for that very end." 8. "At the ordination of the clergy the whole body of the people were present." 9. "Public letters from one church to another were read before the whole diocese." 10 "The whole diocese of the bishop did meet all together to manage church affairs."

What can more strictly correspond with the character, limits, and usages of our ordinary parishes, or be more

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* Epist. ad Philad. p. 41. Also Justin Martyr.

† Acturi causam apud plebem universam. Epist. 10, § 4, p. 30

unlike the wide territory and multiplied congregations of a modern diocesan? Not only so, but "the real size," says Lord King, "of these bishoprics, concerning which we have any notices remaining on ancient records, the very largest of them were no greater than our particular congregations are."

This was true of the bishoprics of Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philadephia, and Trallium. Of this the "Epistles of Polycarp" may furnish abundant proof. The dioceses of Antioch, Rome, Carthage and Alexandria, for three hundred years after Christ, remained each as a single congregation.* The whole region around Rome, along the banks of the Tiber, was studded with separate parishes or dioceses, each having its distinct bishop, whose duties were exclusively confined to a single congregation. Hundreds of churches as bishoprics, with their pastors as bishops, so called, were to be found, here arranged, built up and sustained as Christian churches are now. Hence, says Cyprian, "bishops were ordained throughout all provinces and cities"—*Per omnes provincias, et per urbes singulas ordinati sunt episcopi*, (Epist. 52, § 10, p. 119), and he adds, that he was chosen by his own people.†

In all this we find no archbishops and no popes rising to rule with the divine right of an apostolical succession, but the beautiful simplicity of the days of Christ and his immediate followers in the ministry of mercy to lost mankind.

Having shown that there is no proof that the doctrine of "divine right" or of an exclusive "apostolical succes-

* See Lord King. A. Ed. p. 42.

† Populi universi suffragio. Epist. 55, p. 139.

sion" was ever claimed for the papacy or the prelacy during the first three centuries after Christ, we feel authorised to assert that no authority is obtained from the gospel itself. Having seen also, that no distinction was known among the clergy during most of this period; and as we shall yet see that no forms of worship or liturgies were imposed upon the people and no such peculiar efficacy attached to ordinances and ceremonies as subsequently appeared; and being satisfied with the Word of God and the authorities adduced, we feel it wholly unnecessary to advert for a moment to the multitude of mystic and "juvenile fathers" that crowded the dark ages; from which labyrinth of night, of ignorance and corruption, the advocates of every system of error so confidently borrow support. Nothing is more uncertain and unsatisfactory than that long array of authorities in support of clashing systems and sentiments which are summoned from this dark abyss; where "we find council in opposition to council; fathers against fathers; pope against pope; authority against authority."* We shall resort there for no support to our arguments, nor consent to meet any borrowed from that source. We prefer to bridge the whole, to leave its mystic puerelities, and rest in the light of earlier times, till that morning star of the Reformation ushers the dawn of another and a brighter day. From Wyckliff to Luther the pure light of truth and life every hour increases, till the dense night of more than ten long centuries is broken, and the morning is fully ushered in. Germany, Switzerland and France as if waked at once by the same mighty power, burst the chains of delusion and welcomed to her suffering sons the liberty of Christ,

* Rev. Robt. Ferguson, p. 23.

and rising as from the sleep of sepulchres, reorganize and reanimate the church of God. To the enquiry of popish and prelatical pride, where was *your church* before Luther came? We reply, it was where truth, grace and the spirit of God lived and reigned—where the *Charter* of the kingdom of heaven was sacred and inviolate. Whether in exiled families, chased, crowded, suffering amid mountain rocks and eternal snows, or with the saints sighing in silence and despair at the abominations of cruelty and sin, whose remonstrant successors, came forth at last from the bosom of night, that constellation of wonders and toils. These were the church, and to the church universal the resurrection of life and hope, the joy and triumph of a spiritual christianity. Here was *the* church, and it can be no where else even now. We look not to Rome, to Canterbury, nor Geneva, but where "believers" meet, rejecting a cold and miserable formalism, in love with truth and God, there is *our church*, our home, our *rest*. There is the ministry of Christ, vital and valid; the Holy Ghost its sanction and heaven its hope.

But we must briefly trace the rise and progress of that new ministerial order and we can merely glance at it and refer the reader to history, for the full record of the most gigantic structure, ever conceived or reared amid the ruins of the apostacy, whose summit, if not reaching heaven like Babel of old, has its base deep laid as the bottomless pit.

"The duties of a bishop," says Lord King, "were preaching the word, praying with his people, administering the true sacraments; taking care of the poor, ordaining of ministers, governing his flock, excommunicating offenders, absolving penitents—i. e. preaching, worship

and government, were part of the bishop's function and office."*

In an extended congregation it would not be unnatural for the minister growing weary under its care or wasting with the infirmities of age, to desire some assistance in the performance of his arduous duties; nor for a church to become so numerous and extended as to find it necessary to branch off into new and separate congregations. In the church, diocese or parish of Alexandria, during the third century, this seems actually to have occurred. In the extreme suburbs of the city, says Eusebius, distinct congregations (συναγωγαί) began to arise, from the remoteness of their residence from the usual place of worship; yet they did not at once separate from "their old church and bishop," but retaining this endearing relation, they by permission enjoyed at stated seasons the ministrations of others, who from their age or circumstances were naturally in many respects subordinate, and under the direction of the mother church. Here, as far as we can discover, is the modest and innocent rise of that collossal system of diocesan and pontifical power which like clouds from the bottomless pit have overshadowed the earth, making the spiritual kingdoms of this world above all its civil powers, and blending the spiritual with the earthly, honoring the one, to the destruction of the other.

It is not difficult to see, how unequal endowments, age, and maturity of learning and piety, might give to one man a commanding influence over many minds. The presiding officer of an ecclesiastical assembly, under the influence of his station, or the pastor of some popular or

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* See Origen. Tertul: Justin Martyr. Firmilian.

central church, in the capital of the country, whose ancient and commanding ascendency becomes transferred to its minister, soon finds himself unconsciously, perhaps against his will, clothed with uncommon powers — standing amid his juniors, his sons and admirers, venerable for age, learning and piety, he is the patriarch of the churches, even of churches whose powers and whose ministry are essentially the same. In this way the distinctions in the church and the Christian ministry no doubt had their rise ; and history has written the results, through fifteen hundred years of ecclesiastical corruption, clerical pride and oppression. The gorgeous pontificate ; the regal prelacy, robed, mitred, and enthroned in scarlet, on the seven hills, claiming the mistresship of nations and the prelatic empire of the world, are the achievements and the memorials.

History has not left the foregoing positions unsustained. Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Carthage, had powerful and extended churches within their respective borders, to which pride, learning, commerce and wealth had given ascendant powers. Their primitive ministry was no more, and their original Christian simplicity had passed away : the corruptions of the church and of the age had favored the extension and abuse of that power with which they were clothed. The rivalship existing between these cities, especially the most distinguished, became transferred to their respective churches, whose spiritual heads were not insensible to the honors of an overshadowing influence.

Whatever may have been the result of the enlarged powers of the venerable minister of Alexandria in the third century, it was not until the close of the sixth, that anything like prelatical or papal jurisdiction and pre-

eminence was known. From the imperial character of Rome, or from the ascendant talents of "Gregory the Great," he was acknowledged as holding the first place among the patriarchs, yet "with express limitation of jurisdiction and bounds." John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, as yet the "head city," and jealous of the imperial aspirings of Rome, became emulous of the ascendant honors and influence of Gregory, and claimed to be styled the "*universal patriarch*" or bishop, as the city where he officiated was the chief residence of the emperor. Lending the aid of his overshadowing influence to the feebler and remote churches, he received that homage and gratitude due to beneficent greatness, and there was no general resistance to his claim.

Gregory of Rome, however, remonstrated, and denied the right of his brother to such exclusive assumptions: "It was Lucifer; it was antichrist; it could belong to no bishop on earth." So indignantly did the patriarch of the imperial city protest; his wounded pride, doubly vigorous from the apparent piety that sanctioned it, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, remembering perhaps the occurrences of his own city in the third century and to pacify his brother of Rome, bestowed upon him the more magnificent title of UNIVERSAL POPE. But Gregory was too modest, or too far committed by his denunciations of this *honor* under another name, and with all humility declares himself "*the servant* of the *servants* of God:" in mitred lips the living synonym of papal power. Gregory *was* POPE, the father of that whole race; imperial in the church, as Rome to the world.*

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* See His. of Cath. Chh. by Alexander Petrie, Cap. II. pp. 9–11; and Campbell's Lectures, Lec. XVI. p. 271.

Thus we have the rise of unassuming, patriarchal supervision in the third century, growing slowly through more than three hundred years into diocesan jurisdiction: from its civil and geographical relations at length assuming prelatical powers, and not even nominally pontifical and papal till near seven hundred years of corruption and darkness obscures the *true light.*

We know of nothing apostolical like the foregoing rivalship, but that memorable dispute who should be greatest; and all the distinctions in the ministry, papal and prelatical, are no more primitive nor apostolical than this.

It is not from prejudice towards any class of men that we oppose these high church principles; but from deep conviction of their unscriptural character, and from their necessary influence upon those that adopt them. This is seen not alone on the page of history. It has its memorials in all the archives, institutes and civil organizations of the world. This influence is seen not alone at Rome, and at Canterbury, in the papacy of the Episcopate; but it is seen also in the Presbyter, and had the clamorous demands once made in England by the Presbyterians, for the sword, been heard, we might have seen the northern presbyter of Scotch zeal, fresh and firm in the remembrance of his national and religious wrongs, carrying something more to London than his "confession of faith," with his "solemn league and covenant;" and how many a papist and adherent of Episcopacy would have found their way to the tower, the fleet and the stake, it is not easy to say. The aspect and late doings of high Presbytery in another hemisphere, and its proud domination at this moment in Scotland, are some indications of its energy when unrestrained. And as human

nature does not vary essentially any where, nor in any age, had Cromwell been as vain of his theology, as Henry VIII.; and the Independents long enough in power to learn all its blessings, notwithstanding the nature of their principles, the one might have been a second "defender of the faith," and the other, shorn of their unshared excellence, hung with all servility on the arm of the Protector. We rejoice that these principles were not allowed to begin their work upon these men of scriptural faith and simple trust in Christ for salvation. We would not trust human nature with these principles any where. They show themselves most in the papacy and the prelacy, because they have there lived so long and gathered such encouragement from their civil relations, and more so from the very nature of their ecclesiastical organization. And it is now more in defence of ourselves, and of other principles, dearer than life, that the Christian citizen as well as the Christian preacher is called to oppose them.

And let it be remembered that we are not alone in these views of entire dissent from the principles before us. Those better acquainted with them from experience of their disasterous results on the moral and religious interests of the church, shall give their testimony to the truth and reasonableness of our positions. We shall but allude to the worthy men of the Episcopal church, who are struggling against them in this country and to the prelates and the numerous clergy of the English Establishment, now so vigorously resisting the Oxford tractarians. We shall rely chiefly on the opinions of the most learned and pious of the English church in past times, whose sentiments and authority are held in the highest estimation at the present day.

We repeat it, we are not acting in our sectarian character unsustained by those who better know the principles before us, than we do, and who have felt more of their influence than we hope ever to experience. We appeal to the Episcopal church itself for the truth and vindication of every position we have taken, though the men we shall adduce for our support, may not have been led to consider the political and religious bearings of these principles as others may have been compelled to do.

2. *In the next place the system under review, is a departure from the original principles of the Episcopal Church of England, as established at the era of the Reformation.*

In reference to ecclesiastical discipline, no historical fact is more certain than this, that all the reformed churches renounced the principle of any *divine right* of Episcopal ordination. As a single instance, we may mention the Smalcaldic Articles, in 1533, which strenuously assert the identity of bishops and presbyters, and their equality by divine right, in the power of ordination. These articles were signed by nearly eight thousand ministers, among whom were Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, &c. To a similar effect was the declaration of the *Function* of the English church, about the same period, which states as follows: "In the New Testament there is no mention of any degree or distinction of orders, but only of *deacons* or ministers, and of *priests* or bishops."* This declaration was signed by thirty-seven distinguished civilians and divines, and by thirteen bishops. Nor was

* Burnet's Hist. of Ref. I. 321 fol.

this subject, as some have insinuated, hastily decided on by the English reformers. On the contrary, it was regarded as one of the cardinal questions of the Reformation, and was examined by them with great care and deliberation. It was one of a number of queries propounded to a large council of the most distinguished divines and bishops, under Henry VIII. As a specimen of the answers which were then given, we transcribe the following.

CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, says "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both *one* office, in the beginning of Christ's religion."

DR. COX, afterwards bishop of Ely under Elizabeth, adds, "By scripture (as Jerome saith) bishops and priests be *one*. Yet bishops as they are now, were *after* priests, and therefore *made* of priests."

DR. REDMAN, says, "At the beginning, were both *one* —wherefore one made the other indifferently."*

To a similar effect were the decisions of Dr. Day, Dr. Edgeworth, The Bishop of London, and generally of the most distinguished friends of the Reformation. Accordingly, these principles were embodied by the bishops in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, which was approved by a vote of both houses of Parliament in 1543, and prefaced with an epistle by the king himself. In this it is declared, that "priests and bishops are by God's law *one and the same*, and that the powers of ordination and excommunication belong equally to *both*." These were the principles of the English Church during the whole reign of Edward VI. Foreign churches were recognized by

* Burnet I. 223.

the Reformers as in the fullest sense churches of Christ. A large number of foreign divines were invited by Cranmer from abroad to aid in the Reformation, and were instantly employed in clerical duties without one hint of re-ordination.* On the restoration of the English church, on its present footing, under Elizabeth, it was enacted by Parliament "that the ordination of foreign churches should be held valid, and that those who had no orders, should be of like capacity with others to enjoy any place of ministry in England."† That these were the sentiments of the clergy at this time, is most evident. "The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "was archbishop Whitgift, a sage and prudent person, whom we cannot suppose ignorant of the sense of the Church of England, or afraid or unwilling to defend it. Yet he frequently against Cartwright asserts "no form of church government is by the Scriptures prescribed to, or commanded the church of God." And so Dr. Cosins his chancellor, "it cannot be proved that any certain, particular form of church government, is commanded us by the word of God." Dr.

* Among these was the celebrated John Knox, who was chaplain to the king, and was sent also by the privy council to preach at Berwick, see Strype's Annals III. 235. Martyn Bucer was another, who officiated, says Strype, "at St. Martins Cambridge do. do. II. 207. At the death of Bucer, a funeral sermon was preached by Parker, afterwards the most active in establishing the church on its present footing, as first archbishop under Elizabeth. In this sermon he terms Bucer a "chief master workman" placed there by God; and dwells with much feeling on the loss sustained by the church, and on the certain *happiness* to which Bucer had departed. Strype's life of Parker, 29. How little does all this look like *doubting* whether the "promises" of the gospel belong to those who are out of the Episcopal church!

† Strype as quoted by Neal, 1, 336.

Loe, "no certain form of government is prescribed in the word." Bishop Bridges, "God hath not expressed the form of church government." "They who are pleased but to consult the third book of the learned and judicious Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," adds Stillingfleet, "may see the *mutability* of church government, largely asserted and fully proved."* Iren : Part II. c. viii. § 3.

The learned Whittaker, professor of divinity in Cambridge at the same period, and who was chiefly employed in the controversy with the papists, declares as the doctrine of the reformed, (in his controversy with Bellarmin and Dureus) that "presbyters being by divine right the *same* as bishops, they might warrantably set other presbyters over the churches." It was on this ground, that speaking in behalf of the English Church, he defended the validity of ordination, as performed by Luther, Zwingle, Bucer, etc. Little did he or his associates imagine, that Protestants would ever unite with Papists, in calling that ordination in question. When this was first done by Dr. Brancroft, in his sermon at Paul's cross, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, it excited so much surprise that Sir Francis Knolls wrote to Dr. John Reynolds one

* The only attempt which we have ever heard of to evade these testimonies, is by saying that "church government" here, may not have referred to the different orders of clergy in the church, but merely to other ecclesiastical constitutions. But Stillingfleet, with the originals before him, did so understand them, and cited them to establish his position, that there is no unalterable divine right in the clergy. These declarations too, were made against Cartwright the Puritan, who asserted the exclusive divine right of *presbyterian* ordination. Whitgift and the rest therefore, if they spoke to the point in debate, meant to deny what Cartwright maintained, viz that the Scriptures had laid down any one immutable constitution for the *orders* of the clergy, discipline, etc. of the church.

of the translators of the Bible, and universally regarded as the most learned man of the age, for his opinion on this subject. Reynolds replied that even Bellermin acknowledged the weakness of Dr. B's pretension. "It may be added" he says "that they who for five hundred years have been industrious in reforming the church, have thought, that all pastors, whether called bishops or presbyters, have according to the word of God *like* power and authority." He then appeals in confirmation of his statement, to the Waldenses, Wickliff and his followers, Huss and his disciples, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger and Musculus; to many English bishops as Jewell, author with Cranmer of the articles and Homilies, Pilkington and others; and to Bradford, Lambert, and many more of the early confessors of the English church. He adds, that this was the common doctrine of the reformed churches in Switzerland, Savoy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland. It was not until forty years after, in the time of Archbishop Laud, that these high church principles gained much footing in the English church, and even long after that, Stillingfleet says, "It is acknowledged by the stoutest champions of episcopacy, before these *late* unhappy divisions, that ordination performed by presbyters in case of necessity, is valid; which I have already shown doth evidently prove that episcopal government is not founded on any unalterable *divine right*."*

Authorities from the Church of England might be multiplied in unbroken succession to the present time, sustaining the same liberal principles; and yet nine-tenths of the Christian clergy throughout the world are declared

* Iren. Part II. Chap. VIII. § 7.

unministerial, their acts invalid, and their countless churches excommunicated from the fellowship of Christ. Where in the ages of primitive Christianity; where in the whole bright era of the Reformation; where, in the gospel of God, is there authority for such an act of arrogance!

We adduce in support of our positions the authority of the principal ecclesiastical dignitary of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, in whose masterly production we find a catholic spirit. and fully conceded all that other Christian denominations ask. This work alone ought to settle the subject in debate forever.

Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, writes as follows: "It appears plainly from the sacred narrative, that though the many churches which the apostles founded were branches of one spiritual brotherhood, of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the heavenly head, though there was one Lord, one faith, one baptism, for all of them, yet they were each a distinct, independent community *on earth*, united by the common principles on which they were founded, and by their mutual agreement, affection and respect, but not having any one recognized head *on earth*. He says, it seems to have been, at least the general, if not the universal practice of the apostles, to appoint over each separate church a single individual as a chief governor, under the title of angel or bishop. A *church* and *diocese* seem to have been for a considerable time *coextensive* and *identical*, and each church or diocese though connected with the rest, by ties of *faith*, *hope* and *charity*, seem to have been perfectly independent as far as it regards any power or control." He speaks of distinct and independent communities, each governed by its own single bishop as our independent churches

are now; confirming the fact already alluded to, that the limits of a primitive bishopric on the banks of the Tiber, were not ordinarily more extensive than the congregations of our American clergy generally.

Speaking of those who "claim to have what is called apostolical succession," he says, "they seem to me, in proportion as they proceed on these principles, to be in some degree removing our institutions from a foundation on a rock to place them on sands." Having decidedly condemned the "claims of ministers on some supposed sacramental virtue, transmitted from hand to hand in unbroken succession from the apostles," he adds, "those who are not satisfied with the foundations thus laid, and which is the very foundation which Christ and his apostles have prepared for us; who seek to take higher ground, as the phrase is, and maintain what are called according to the modern fashion, 'church principles, or Church of England principles,' are in fact subverting the principles both of our church in particular, and of every Christian church that claims the inherent right belonging to a community, and confirmed by the sanction of God's word, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. It is advancing, but not in the right road. It is advancing not in a sound learning but error; not in faith but in a superstitious credulity, to seek for some higher and better ground on which to rest our doctrines and institutions, than that on which they are placed by the Author and Finisher of our faith." He says in a note to this, "It is curious to observe how very common it is for any sect or party to assume a title indicative of the very excellence in which they are especially deficient, or strongly condemnatory of the very errors with which they are especially chargeable. The phrase Catholic religion, *i. e.*

universal, is the most commonly in the mouths of those who are the most limited and exclusive in their views, and who seek to shut out the largest number of Christian communities from the gospel covenant." Speaking of appeals to antiquity in support of claims to the divine right of succession, he says, "Everything pertaining to this appeal is obscure, uncertain, disputable, and actually disputed to such a degree, that even those who are not able to read the original authors may yet be perfectly competent to judge how unstable a foundation they furnish. The tendency of this procedure is to drive the doubting into confirmed though perhaps secret infidelity, and to fill with doubts the sincerely pious." We fully agree with the archbishop, and find a result more fatal still. This obscurity and absurdity of claims and succession, united with undefinable securities of grace by mere ordinances, have driven men of intelligence to avowed infidelity, and the credulous to fanaticism, till the working of miracles is actually attempted in the name of Christ. And even the churchmen of Oxford begin boldly to justify faith in the popish pretensions to this power.*

* A volume has recently been published at Oxford containing a revised translation of a portion of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, viz. from A. D. 381, to A. D. 400: introduced by an advertisement from the pen of the Rev. J. H. Newman, Fellow of Oriel College. Prefixed to the work is a labored "Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles;" that is, those miracles recorded as having been wrought in the early centuries of the church *posterior* to the apostolical age. The writer takes the ground (p. xiii) that, these "are not to be at once rejected"—"that some of them were true miracles;" and "that we cannot be certain how many were *not* true. After treating of "the anticedent probability" of these miracles, their "internal character" and "the state of the argument" respecting them, the writer goes on and "sets down the evidence for and against certain miracles as we

They affirm. that, "In the sacraments we have, in some special sense, the present power of God with us, and the episcopal and priestly succession have in them something divine, as channels, which convey, as it were, his presence to us;" and that "if Balaam's ass instructed Balaam, what is there fairly to startle us in the church's doctrine, that the water of baptism cleanses from sin, or that eating the consecrated bread is eating Christ's body." They say, this power is "constantly conveyed through

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meet with them." But the evidence *for* them, in his mind, far outweighs the evidence *against* them, and in behalf of these at least, he makes the assertion (p. cix) "that it will be found that the greater part of the miracles of Revelation are as little evidence for revelation at this day, as the miracles of the church are evidence for the church." The miracles which he thus sustains are the nine following: 1. The Thundering Legion. 2. The change of water into oil by Narcissus of Jerusalem. 3. Miracles wrought on the course of the river Lycus by Gregory Thaumaturgus.. 4. Constantine's Luminous Cross. 5. The discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena. 6. The death of Arius. 7. The fiery eruption on Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple. 8. The recovery of the blind man by relics at Milan. 9. The miracle upon the African confessors mutilated by Heneric. That miraculous power is actually claimed for the ministry Episcopally ordained, see Tracts for the Times, No. lxxxv. p. 95.

A recent discourse from the prelate of the Episcopal church in Maryland, on the "Christian Priesthood," speaks of "*the ministerial intervention, that sins may be forgiven*," and affirms, that in this respect, it is more clearly claimed and efficient than in a former dispensation. What Mr. Withingham makes of the sacrifice of Christ, and what advantage that gives us, over the Jew of old, is not known. The whole discourse is worthy of attention, only as another indication of the result to which the principles before us lead. Its affinities cannot be mistaken, and we are not surprised, that some of the clergy of Maryland revolt from its conclusions. See the Rev. Mr. John's Reply.

the hands of commissioned persons, authorized according to the outward forms of the church — that the sacraments are a continued miracle" and their "dispensation by episcopally ordained ministers is equal to the working of miracles — and if baptism be the cleansiug and quickening of the dead soul, to say nothing of the Lord's supper, THEY DO WORK MIRACLES."

It would appear, that, by design, every thing had been omitted in the gospel, by which we might construct an ecclesiastical polity, and pronounce it divine, or even scriptural, to the exclusion of all other religious associations. The most we can confidently say of any is, that it is not unscriptural or forbidden. Of none can we affirm, this is after the pattern seen in the mount or at Jerusalem. From what we know of the assumptions and claims of orders and polity, pretending to divine right and exclusive scriptural authority, we see the wisdom of this omission.

The Redeemer foresaw, that any settled and express church organization and service, suited to all ages and circumstances, which must, at the best, be but the outer temple, the forms and orderings of external devotion, rather than the vital principle of godliness, would become perverted and abused ; and he well knew that men, finding it easier to observe forms than to cultivate principles ; to trust in externals rather than govern the inner man, would transfer their minds from the hidden spirit of holiness, to its external symbols ; and that, instead of securing and honoring the life of Christ in the soul, they would satisfy the demands of an easy and ruinous religion, by a superstitious adherence to its formulas and rites. And this is lamentably true, even now, with all the uncertainties as to ecclesiastical order and services. How

much more so, could we settle from the gospel, exactly, what was the divinely ordered style of the primitive churches, and what their services. As it is, the human mind is ever wandering from the substance and the principle of godliness, and magnifying the importance of rites, and contending for the mere externals of religion. *Hæret in literis, hæret in cortice.* We hear much about the *mode* of baptism, and little about the vital energy of God in the soul. Much of baptismal regeneration, and little of the renewing and indwelling of the Holy Ghost. More about the *commission* of Christ and *valid* ministrations, than of justification by faith, and Christ formed in the soul, the hope of glory. The ordinances of the gospel, and what *the church* has added thereto, are like essential *verities*, while the gospel itself, with its foundations of hope, *repentance* towards God, and *faith* towards our Lord Jesus Christ, is almost lost, but as an unseen support to the costly and cumbersome ceremonial that is bound, as a body of death, upon it, till its very ministers will carry their formulas, their discipline and prayer books, where they have never thought to leave a Bible.

The apostle, it would seem, early met these difficulties, and severely rebuked them. To the Corinthians, contending about men and ministrations, he says, I thank God I baptized none of you; for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel, not with the wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.

We say, there was profound wisdom in leaving the question of ecclesiastical order and forms so uncertain, and throwing men upon the resources of enlightened reason and intelligent piety. And we may rest assured, that when we contend for mere externals, we have lost the

unction of religion, and are fighting our own battles, and not, as the church militant, for Christ and his cause.

As we revert to the times of Isaiah, by whom God rebukes the formalism of Israel, saying, To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? Bring no more vain oblations; when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you, yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear you; or when, in later days, we hear the Saviour condemn the external and heartless service of the Jews, even to their prayers and offerings of professed piety, who can trust for a moment in forms and ceremonies? And as we admire the modest carriage and unadorned simplicity of the Son of God, of his disciples and the learned Paul, mighty in truth, majestic in holiness, and unaided by adventitious adornments; who would expect that the cumbersome ceremonial, liturgic formalism, and complicated ministry, which, amid growing corruptions and midnight darkness, rose to the majesty of imperial Romanism and prelatical domination, could claim the exclusive sanction and support of the word of God?

In the primitive, as well as in the apostolical churches, there was a beautiful and impressive simplicity, like the gospel itself, addressed to the understanding and the heart. "The minister," says Cyprian, "offered prayer with a modest and a bashful voice." *Modestis precibus orare.* "He so prayed as did most affect the people, whose mouth he was to God; for they did not vocally join with him in prayers, but only testified their assent to what the minister prayed by saying, Amen." After speaking of the Lord's prayer, Tertullian says, "That we may add thereunto and offer up prayers unto God, according to the variety of our circumstances and condition." "Now these

other prayers," says Lord King, "which made up a great part of divine service, were not stinted and imposed forms, but the words and expressions of them were left to the prudence, choice and judgment of any particular bishop or minister." "I say," adds the same anthor, "that the words or expressions of the prayers are not enforced or prescribed, but every one that officiated, delivered himself in such terms as best pleased him, and varied his petitions according to present circumstances and emergencies; or, if it be more intelligible, that the primitive churches had no stinted liturgies, or imposed forms of prayer." "There is not the least mention of them in any of the primitive writings, nor the least word or syllable tending thereunto, that I can find."* Even when standing at the sacramental table, the minister or "bishop sent up his prayers and praises," says Justin Martyr, "according to his ability, ὅση δύναμις." With these simple and hearty ministrations, the people stood, with eyes closed and hands lifted to the skies, responding simply, as their pastor closed their Amen, *so let it be.*

We admire, we venerate the simplicity of the gospel, its spiritual, "direct, symmetrical character." We love the unadorned modesty of its services and servants, and find it, when unaided by human devices, the most impressive

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* See Lord King, on the Primitive Church, Part II. Chap. II. Also Cyprian, De Orat. Domini, p. 309. Tertul. Apolog. Cap. 30. p. 703. Cyprian, Epist 16, § 1, p. 44. Epist. 58, § 2, p. 163. Epist. 60, § 4, p. 167. "Baronius ad An. Christi 58, num. 102–104—treating expressly of the public prayers of the ancient Christians, is wholly silent as to the use of any forms amongst them." In the fifth century, we find an African council deciding as to what prayers shall not be used at the Eucharist, at which time, it would appear, that there were no *prescribed* liturgies for general use.

and efficient. The honors of state and the powers of the civil arm have only clouded its beauty, encumbered and enervated. Living as we do, where mind and merit are not measured by "ribbons" and "garters;" where office and station are not symbolized by stars, empty heraldry and proud armorials, we leave to others all such badges and emblazonments, incongruous with our government, our society and the gospel. All their correspondencies and counterparts in church arrangements, we wholly decline, not as unessential simply, but as positively unauthorised and hurtful.

God gave us but a solitary holy day, and Jesus Christ has left but a single prayer and two simple ordinances; and even these few institutions have been perverted, obscured and desecrated by human auxiliaries and additions, till feasts, fasts and saint's-days, Christ's-masses, Michael's-masses, Candlemas and Childermas, with almost countless festivals, are crowding the calendar, like stars in the firmament of pagan deities, to the supplanting of the spiritual and true worship of God.

One day of rest is lost amid a multitude equally sacred, if not more impressive by the infrequency of their recurrence.* One prayer has become a thousand, all solemnly enforced; the simple ordinance of baptism actual regeneration; and the Lord's Supper, when *rightly administered*, saving to the soul; and added thereto are confes-

* Not less than one hundred and twenty of these are retained in the Episcopal church; as says an American prelate: "The church has marked the calendar of her seasons, by the coming and going of festivals and holy-days." These are acknowledged to be without Scripture authority, partly of Jewish and partly of pagan origin, and most of them introduced to the church between the fifth and thirteenth centuries.

sionals, confirmations, absolution and extreme unction, with all the purchases of penance, forms and prayers, till the saving benefits of an exclusive ministry are every where forced upon us, and "we have yet to learn," says an American prelate, "where a promise to fallen man is to be found, that is not limited on the previous condition, that he is a member of the visible—i. e. the Episcopal church upon earth."

If the few and simple institutions of the gospel have been so perverted, what would be the result if we had apostolical usage for all these appended devices! There was more than wisdom in leaving the gospel so simple, and its religious forms so few. There was positive inspiration in the omission of unessential usages, as there was in recording of essential verities, and enjoining of specific ordinances.

We know these humanly devised forms of religion, are justified and enforced for the edification and spiritual improvement of the church; but has not Christ made ample provision for this, without a liturgy and attending formulas? In adopting these, without his authority, may we not supercede his own methods of grace; and while clinging to a righteousness of our own, forfeit the benefit of His?

Nothing can be more clear, than that all forms of prayer and prescribed methods of worship, were utterly unknown, for three hundred years after Christ. The express declaration of some of the most ancient writers, that liturgies were not used, and the utter silence of all, as to any such usages of the church, are conclusive on this subject.

"In the course of time, when Christianity was protected and even adopted by the state, and opportunity was

thus given of establishing public forms and ceremonies of worship without fear of danger, and when it seemed expedient to recommend it to the favor of half-converted pagans by outward pomp and circumstance, it was thought to be at once safe and seasonable, to increase the number of sacred solemnities,—to restore many parts of the Jewish ritual, and even to incorporate into the system of Christian worship various rites and ceremonies from the customs of the declining pagan superstition."*

The precise time, however, when forms began to be used is unknown. They were born in darkness, and none have survived, to write their genealogy. It is probable, that they came into use, almost imperceptibly, from the necessities of unqualified ministers. Form after form was added, till in process of time the towering liturgies of the papacy were perfected, whence sprung the more refined selections of the English Episcopal prayer-book. Little did the ignorant preacher of the fourth century dream, that the brief creations of his professional necessity, would terminate in such results; and that no Christian could pray in his family, and scarcely in his closet, without the terms of his petition being dictated by the pleasure of his diocesan; that prayer meetings were to be dissolved at his pleasure, and a nation bowing under the bereavements of God, would be compelled to wait the oracular announcement of its spiritual head, before it could recognize the providence, or pray for its improvement. Formalism is now carried to the mercy-seat, where, at all times, the pulsations of the pious soul should beat warm, natural and free, like the breathings of the heart of filial love, into the bosom of eternal tenderness. We would no

* Coleman's Antiquities, p. 443.

more attempt to define and dictate the universal language of prayer, thanksgiving and praise, than prescribe to the child, in its mother's arms, the language of its wants or the breathings of its love, and till then, deny the reality of the one, or refuse the claims of the other.*

The necessary influence of forms in religion when elevated above their place, should be jealously watched, or the *spirit* of religion will soon die. The Jew, as he lost the vital principle of piety, abandoned the precepts of a scriptural religion, and soon forfeited the securities of his national existence, and instead of Jerusalem, its temple, and Judea, with its king and conquering armies, we find Israel in Babylon, and the Roman soldier the sentinel of the holy city.

And where did the apostacy of the Jew begin? It began where he substituted the forms of religion for its spirit; and attended more to his ecclesiastical polity and his temple service, than to the essential truths of the Scriptures, and thought more of his high priest and his sacrifice, than of God and his Messiah. He suddenly became so idolatrous of externals and forms of devotion, that he lost entirely the spirit of piety, and became the son of

* The whole subject of forms and liturgies, as far as their support is derived from the gospel and the primitive churches, may be easily settled. 1. "Nothing is more clear," says Dr. Owen, "than that they are destitute of any plea or pretence from Scripture or antiquity." They were unknown in the three first centuries. 2. "No account is given," says Archbishop Whately, "of the precise method of church service, or even of any regular forms of prayer beyond the Lord's prayer. 3. They were wholly of human device and imposition coming into the churches by degrees, after the third century, and originating, no doubt, from the peculiar necesisties of the clergy of that period. See Dr. Owen on Liturgies, Lord King, Tertullian and Cyprian.

Abram, and an heir of God, by the simple badge of an Hebrew. His *one* rite was as much to him as "authorized baptism" or "immersion" can be to any one now. At length, he is so religious that Sibboleth is no longer Shibboleth, and instead of the weightier matters of the law, he tithes his annise and his cummin, and thanks God that he is not as other men.

And for what does all this prepare him? For careful attention to his soul: for faith in his promised Messiah? No. He was confident in the safety of the one, because he was a circumcised Hebrew; and though looking, in the pride of his birthright, for his promised Deliverer, when he came, he was without the mitre or the sceptre; and the Jew, instead of adoring his Deity, is mortified at his humble simplicity, and enters upon the crucifixion of the SON of God. He had so long been the victim and the worshipper of rites and ceremonies, that he had wholly lost the idea of their import. He saw God, not so much in the Shekinah, as in the gilded wing of the cherubim. He found no such faith in the Messiah of the prophets, as in the philactary and sackcloth, and when Christ came, the Deity, to him, was not there.

If such was the result of a *divinely ordered* system of rites, ceremonies and forms, when perverted, what must be the result of that system, which without divine authority for its support, comes into the place of a simple and spiritual economy, and which proffers salvation only upon faith in the Redeemer? To see the only symbols of this economy, baptism and the Lord's Supper, lifted wholly out of their place, the Holy Ghost separated from the one, and Christ from the other, so that neither are valid or of virtue, but from the human hand that administers them: we say to see this, with the superadded de-

vices of fallible men, pushed into the place of the expressed conditions of salvation, must be as fatal to the ends of the gospel, as it is foreign to the delegated rights of man. And we wonder not at all, that as Paul early met the natural influences of trusting in such perverted ordinances, he said, I rejoice that I baptised none of you.

3. This leads us, to extend this discussion, and to consider the influence of the principles under review, on the more important question of evangelical piety; in other words, how these principles affect the subject of practical godliness.

We have spoken of a class of religious opinions, which, in the time of the Reformation, during the persecution in England, and through our own revolution, worked out the principles of civil and religious liberty. These same opinions lie at the basis of all practical piety. In other words they are essential, as the ultimate facts of the gospel, to the renewal, the living piety and final salvation of men. And this, though advancing beyond the ordinary morality of life, is not remote from the subject of human government, or the best interests of civil society. For it is only, as the principles of a spiritual religion are kept alive, that any inferior interests are safe. Common morality in the world, lives only as experimental and vital piety lives in the church. Here is the light of the world and the salt of the earth, and if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? And if the light be darkness, how great is the darkness?

Though advancing somewhat beyond the bounds of our civil relations, when we remember what these owe to their religious associations, and that they are secure, only as men are wise and holy, we shall not be found to exceed the limits which belong to us, as christian citizens.

And more than this, a christian citizen is such, not for the earthly state merely, but he is such, for the higher and eternal citizenship of the kingdom of God. Whatever then tends to vitiate his faith or his spiritual hopes, whether of good here or hereafter, belongs to his commonwealth.

Having already alluded to a particular class of religious sentiments, and coming to their immediate bearing on the questions of personal piety and salvation, it becomes necessary to state more fully, what some of these religious sentiments are, and what the relations they hold. As we have found the high church system opposed to our free institutions, so we shall find it, if we mistake not, equally opposed to that *evangelical faith*, which is uniformly friendly to free institutions.

In examining the history of the church in past ages, we find but two grand divisions, in respect to the momentous subject of man's salvation. Before the Reformation, these divisions consisted of those who held to justification through the merits of Christ *alone*, and those who mingled with the doctrines of grace, ecclesiastical observances, as sharing in the work of securing our acceptance with God. The Waldenses and the Lollards once composed the former, and the countless hosts of the papacy, the latter. Since the Reformation, when Protestantism arose to the partial extinction of the papal order, this same distinction has appeared, more generally, under the denomination of Calvinists and Arminians. Not that all who belong to the former class subscribe to every sentiment of Calvin, or that the great body of the latter class, have confined themselves within the limits prescribed by the cautious policy of Arminius. The fundamental principles of a system are one thing,

the mode of defending them is quite another. With the progress of biblical criticism and mental philosophy, the controversy has repeatedly changed its aspect on minor points. But the great and fundamental difference between the friends and the enemies of the doctrines of grace remains unchanged. The former believe in the utter alienation of the human heart from God, and its entire destitution of holiness, in a state of nature: the latter reject this doctrine with indignation, and maintain that a portion of divine influence is imparted to each individual of our race to restore his "lapsed powers," which principle of grace, as they term it, will under the cultivation of human effort and church ordinances ripen into the maturity of holiness, and secure eternal life. The former consider God's choice of men to eternal life, as a choice to make certain individuals holy or believers, and thus to prepare them for heaven: the latter contend that this choice or determination results solely from God's *foreseeing*, that these individuals *will* be holy or believers, and that his gracious purposes are *dependent* on this contingency. The former hold, that spiritual regeneration is the result of a *special* operation of the Holy Spirit: the latter ascribe this change to the *ordinary* influence of that divine agent, enjoyed in equal degrees by all, and made effectual, whenever it becomes so, by the choice of the individual to yield to that influence—thus securing the favorite point, that it is the man himself, and not God, "who maketh us to differ."

In no part of christendom has the contest between the friends and enemies of the doctrines of grace, been maintained with more spirit and determination, than in the Church of England. But from the time of Charles II. to the latter part of the last century, the doctrines of the

loosest Arminianism were generally prevalent in that communion, owing to the low state of public morals, the deadening influence of a religious establishment, and the natural tendencies of the human heart. Connected with these doctrines in the English Church, we usually find HIGH CHURCH PRINCIPLES asserting some peculiar and mysterious efficacy in ordinances performed by an Episcopal ministry. The infant presented for baptism, is instantly "born again in this regenerating ordinance,"—is translated from a state of nature into a state of grace, and obtains a *title* to the influences of the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sins."* In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the communicant is brought near to his Savior, in a manner which no ardor of love, nor aspirations of faith, could in themselves secure. According to these principles, too, where there is no prelatical bishop, there is nothing which can be acknowledged as a Church of Christ, and no covenant or promise known to exist, of eternal life. The simple want of subjection to a prelatical priesthood, turns men over to the uncovenanted mercies of the heathen, with the accumulated guilt of rejecting the means which God has himself appointed for their salvation. The followers of the late

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* Grant, the high church historian, states the doctrine thus:—"This opinion supposes a charm, a secret virtue, by which, to state an extreme case, a vicious minister of the Church of England can confer something *necessary to salvation*, as a sacrament is, while the same office performed by a pious sectary, who has in his heart devoted himself to God, is an absolute nullity." Yet, strange as it may seem, after stating the case thus strongly in the form of an objection, he declares that the fact is so. "*Truth* is sacred and immutable, and must be received, whatever inconveniences attend its reception."—*Grant's English Church, Vol.* II. p. 7—8.

Dr. Hobart unite with that gentleman, who says that "None *can* possess authority to administer the sacraments, but those who have received a commission from the bishops of the (Episcopal) Church" — that "great is the *guilt*, and imminent the *danger* of those, who negligently or wilfully continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministrations of *the* church, and participate of ordinances administered by an irregular and *invalid* authority; wilfully rending the peace and unity of the church, by separating from the administration of its authorized priesthood; obstinately contemning the means which God has prescribed for their salvation. They are guilty of *rebellion* against the Almighty Lawgiver and Judge: they expose themselves to the awful displeasure of that Almighty Jehovah, who will not suffer his institutions to be contemned, or his authority violated with impunity."* Some high churchmen there are indeed, who do not go the full length of these statements. They do not *positively* unchurch all other denominations; they only do it *negatively*. They will not *admit* any church but their own to exist. They see no *reason* whatever to

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* Companion for the Altar, edition of 1814, pp. 198—200, 203—204. Since this article was written, we have looked into the last edition of this work, and find that some of these expressions have been altered in a manner to strike the mind less offensively, but no one, we suppose, will contend that Dr. Hobart ever changed his sentiments on this subject. We have here the plain exposition of his views always maintained by him, and as now maintained by his followers; and we are therefore fully authorized to appeal to the statements quoted above. If there were reason to believe that in softening or generalizing the expressions, Dr. Hobart meant to give up any part of the ground taken, the case would be different. But this, we presume, no one will say.

admit any other. They "are yet to *learn*," in the words of Bishop Ravenscroft, "where a promise to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visible (Episcopal) Church on earth." Now this negative exclusion—this refusal to acknowledge any other communion as a Church of Christ—though not so presumptuous or offensive as the positive declarations of bolder men, amounts to precisely the same thing in all its *practical results*. He who *sees* no authority for the rites of other denominations, must act as if there were none; and in a matter which he deems of so much importance, must use all his endeavors to make others act so likewise. Indeed, with the final and perfect revelation of God's will in our hands, to say *we see no authority* for any church ordinances but our own, and *we are yet to learn* where any promise is made except to those of our communion—what is it but to say in more modest terms, "we do believe there *is* none?" To make any nice distinctions between *un*-belief and *dis*-belief, in such a case, does seem to us extremely idle. It is a subject on which the Scriptures are very far from being silent, on which all antiquity, if we may credit high churchmen, has spoken in the most decisive manner; and if with all these means of knowledge we *are yet to learn* where any covenant or promise for fallen man can be found, except within the boundaries of a single church, it is vain to hope that a coming eternity will disclose anything but unmingled wrath, for those who, under all this light, have rejected the most sacred institutions of their Maker. Here, in a condition worse, we apprehend, than that of the heathen, the high churchman leaves thousands of Protestant churches, which have been walking in faith and love from the time of the

Reformation to the present hour; while the Church of Rome, that mother of abominations, is freely recognized as a part of Christ's mystical body, a pillar in the temple of the living God.* And so great is the importance attached to these sentiments, that candidates for the ministry, as well in this country as in England, have actually been held back from ordination, for venturing to express the contrary opinion.

Far be it from us to intimate, however, that such are universally the sentiments of Episcopalians. The church of England, our readers are aware, has witnessed a gradual revival of religion, within the last forty years. Among the most active promoters of this revival, were the two Milners, Dr. Scott, Mr. Wilberforce, Mrs. H. Moore, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Legh Richmond, and the great body of writers who were associated in support of the Christian Observer To these persons, under God, the English church is indebted for nearly all the spiritual religion, which now exists within her communion; and for the share she has taken in the noble efforts of Christian benevolence. Actuated by such a spirit, it was impossible for them to lay any stress on outward rites and ordinances, as constituting an important part in a title to eternal life.

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* "I do believe the Church of Rome," says Archbishop Laud, "to be a true church. Were she not a true church, it were hard for the Church of England, since from her the English bishops derive their apostolic succession." "It is obvious from our acknowledging as valid the orders of its (the Roman Catholic Church) apostate clergy, that we have a still stronger affinity towards that church, than to other bodies of professing Christians, who hold a doctrine nearly as pure as our own; thus making the *form*, rather than the *faith*, the constituent and vital principle of a church. Such is admitted by Grant, to be the high church sentiments. *Vol.* II. p. 7.

They were, indeed, strongly attached to their own modes of worship; and all were naturally desirous, that spiritual religion should be revived, not by the progress of dissent, but by restoring a decayed establishment to its earlier and better principles. With these views, while they labored to promote the cause of evangelical religion in their own church, they extended the hand of Christian fellowship and affection to the pious of every communion.* Mr. Gisborne for example, totally disclaims the *jure divino* principle: affirming that the apostles "left no command which rendered episcopacy universally indispensable in future ages." In like manner, the Christian Observer, (speaking undoubtedly for those of its own sentiments,) says, "Episcopalians found not the merits of their cause on any express injunction or delineation of church government in the Scriptures, *for there is none.*" Vol. III. page 155.

It is equally certain, that *Arminian principles*, which are now commonly associated with High Church pretensions, were a total departure from the original *doctrine* of the English Church. In the year 1595, these principles were first preached in the University of Cambridge, by

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* The Rev. Legh Richmond, an Episcopalian, computes the numerical hierarchy of the English establishment at 18,000: "of these, Mr. Richmond deliberately supposes, that there are perhaps 1,600 truly pious men." This is thought by some "a too liberal allowance." See Dr. Cox, Theopneuston, p. 123. Further light may be gained upon the present state of the English church, and the prospects of Protestant piety in Great Britain, by referring to the Letter of the Rev. C. P. Golightly. The Record of February last, and Bickersteth's remarks on the Dangers of the Church of Christ, p. 17, who says, "it is high time for those who love Protestant truth to speak distinctly."

William Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius College. So great was the offense given by his sermon to the heads of the colleges, that they resorted to measures of great severity on the subject. In reporting their proceedings to the Chancellor of the University, they say, "This sermon being so offensive to the church, and so strongly savoring of the leaven of *popery*, and contrary to the doctrine, nature, quality, and condition of faith, as set forth in the *articles* of religion, and *homilies* appointed to be read in churches, and that hath been taught *ever since her Majesty's reign*, in sermons, and defended in public schools, and open commencements, without contradiction in the universities; we thought it meet to repress these *novelties* of doctrine by such means as our statutes do appoint." They then proceed to state the crime of Barret, viz. his "impudent challenging of Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and others, of error in the doctrines of faith, in most bitter terms, *whom we never knew in our church heretofore, touched in that matter.*" They therefore required of Barret a public recantation; which was accordingly made in St. Mary's church, Cambridge. He revoked what he had preached there, *ad clerum*, according to the sense, which was afterwards called Arminianism, about faith, predestination, perseverance, &c —And added, "I do beseech you to pardon this my rashness; also that I uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Jerome Zanchius, Francis Junius, and the rest of the same religion, *being the lights and ornaments of our church.*"

Nor is it wonderful that these novelties produced so much excitement; for, "during this reign, the Institutes of Calvin," says Stapleton, "were so generally esteemed in England, that the book hath been accurately translated

into English, and *even fixed in the parish churches for the people to read.* Moreover in each of the universities, after the students have finished their circuit in philosophy, as many of them as are designed for the ministry, *are lectured first of all on that book.*"

Heylen, an enemy of Calvin, says, of the reign of Elizabeth, under whom the English Church was settled upon its present foundation, "predestination and the points depending thereupon, were received as the established doctrines of the Church of England."

That these were the principles of the early fathers of that church during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. is equally certain. Their choice of Peter Martyr and Buce, both Calvinists, as the first professors of theology at Cambridge and Oxford, are the strongest possible demonstrations of this fact. In their writings we find the doctrine of election, of the saints perseverance, and kindred points, continually insisted upon, as cardinal points of the gospel.

The following passages are offered as specimens. Tindal says: "God's elect cannot fall, that they rise not." Paul preacheth predestination, whence it springeth altogether, whether we shall believe or not believe."

Cranmer, says: "This article speaketh of the *elect*, in whom finally, shall no fault be, but they shall perpetually continue and endure. We wretched sinners do not prevent God or go before him in the work of justification, but it is God that layeth the *first* foundation of our salvation."

Bradford the Martyr, says "Faith is the *work* and *gift* of God, given to none other than those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath *predestinated* in Christ to eternal life."

Homily for Whitsunday. "Man of his own nature is sinful and disobedient, *without one spark of goodness* in him, without any virtuous or godly motion."*

Testimonies of this kind might be swelled to any extent; indeed they already fill six large octavo volumes, as collected by the Rev. Legh Richmond, in his Fathers of the English Church, from which the above extracts are taken. No historical fact can be clearer than this, that the men, who in these latter days insist so strongly on High Church principles, as the standard of churchmanship, are chargeable with a departure from the early principles of the Episcopal Church. In exposing what we deem their errors, therefore, we are not only defending ourselves against that spirit which unchurches every other denomination, but we are speaking in behalf of those in the Episcopal Church, who are reviled and persecuted, for adhering to the faith and catholic principles of CRANMER, LATIMER, JEWELL and RIDLEY.

There are many in this country who embrace the same sentiments, and with such we have no difficulty, even on the ground of their ecclesiastical preferences, so long as they are not made exclusive. It is natural for us to feel strong attachment to the modes of worship, in which we have been educated. Our love for religion itself becomes, in some degree, identified with an attachment to that with which it has always been associated. But when we hear the principles and institutions of our churches pointedly

* The reader will observe how careful these writers were to cut off the evasion afterwards resorted to by Arminians, viz: that men are elected on account of their *foreseen faith*. The very existence of *faith* itself, they say, is the thing contemplated in predestination. Men are chosen to be *made* believers, not because they will become believers.

condemned, as a departure from the ordinances established by Christ; when such sentiments are zealously inculcated, in conversation, from the pulpit, and through the press in almost every part of our country; when those who would join our communion, are repressed with the most solemn admonitions, that they are departing from the appointed way of salvation; and when all this is associated with the severest reprobation of the doctrinal sentiments maintained in our churches, we think, that we are called upon to speak in our defense, and to examine the principles of those who are thus unsparing in their condemnation of ours.

It is not our intention however, at present, to inquire farther into the foundation of these *high* pretensions. Their utter futility has been a thousand times demonstrated. It is indeed a striking fact, that they were never put down with a stronger hand, or trampled more triumphantly in the dust, than by Episcopal writers, especially by Bishop Stillingfleet and Sir Peter King, and more recently, by Archbishop Whately of Dublin, and others equally attached to the English Establishment. Leaving this part of the subject in their hands, we shall offer some general remarks on the system of high church and Arminian principles, more especially as maintained by the followers of the late Bishop Hobart.

4. *The conditions of salvation as laid down by the high church writers, are in our view, diametrically opposed to the Word of God.* The Scriptures divide the whole human family into two great classes, those who are in a state of condemnation, and those who are in a state of grace or favor with God. The former are described as "children of wrath," the latter as the "children of God" The one as "alienated" and "enemies in their minds by

wicked works;" the other as "reconciled" to God and members of Christ's body. The one as having "no hope and without God in the world;" the other as "partakers of the promises" and made "heirs of the kingdom" of his dear Son.

The most important question, that can be asked this side of the eternal world, is this, *What is that* change in man, which translates him from a *state of condemnation into a state of grace or favor with God?*

The followers of Dr. Hobart answer, BAPTISM: and in this sentiment we suppose most high churchmen coincide. "In this regenerating ordinance (baptism) fallen man is born again from a state of *condemnation* into a state of *grace*." "Our church," says Dr. Hobart in his volume of sermons, "in all her services, considers *baptized* Christians (i. e. baptized persons) as regenerate; as called into a *state of salvation;* as made *members* of Christ; children of God; *heirs* to the kingdom of heaven." Now, we ask, is it possible to affirm more strongly, that the simple act of baptism *prepares the soul for heaven?* It makes its subjects "heirs of the kingdom," "children of God," "in a state of grace or salvation."* True, they must continue in this state, must go on to repent of sin when committed, and to put their trust in Christ, to the end of life. But that great change in their character and condition, without which no man can see the Lord, is effected by baptism! This makes them in a moment "children of God," and should any individual among them die at that moment, he must of course be saved. Now, we ask, is this the doctrine of the New Testament? Can the act of a fallible man thus remove the condemning sen-

* See Companion for the Altar, p. 186.

tence of God, and secure the salvation of the soul? The supposition, all will agree, is impious, unless the renewing influence of the Spirit, does *invariably* attend the administration of the ordinance of baptism. But where in the whole Bible have we any intimation of such a fact? What too, is the testimony of experience on this subject? Do all baptized persons in the Episcopal church give evidence of that great spiritual change, which is so entire and absolute, as to be termed "*life* from the *dead?*" Are they without exception crucified to the world, and the world crucified to them? The utmost stretch of charity will not authorize the supposition.*

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* In this unscriptural sentiment, we are aware that Episcopalians are sustained by the express terms of their prayer-book, which speaks of baptism in the following terms—even incorporated into the language of prayer. "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate *this Infant* with thy *Holy Spirit;* to receive *him* for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church." And again, "Then shall the minister say, Seeing, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is *regenerate*, and grafted into the body of Christ's church by baptism," &c. The Rev. Mr. Melville, of Camden Chapel, after referring to the above expressions, says, "We really think no fair, no straight-forward dealing can get rid of the conclusion, that the church holds what is called baptismal regeneration." He adds, "So long as I officiate according to the forms of (the) prayer-book, I do not see how I can be commonly honest, and yet deny that every baptized person is, on that account, regenerate." What he means by this regeneration is not so clear, for he adds, "the church does not hold that all who are thus regenerate, can never need any further moral change, in order for fitness for heaven; and yet he says again, "he is born again from above." No wonder that many evangelical and conscientious of this church feel that the prayer-book should be "reformed" Is this regeneration by the *Spirit*, and salvation by grace? It is not perhaps generally known, that the prayer-book was compiled chiefly from the three services, morning, evening, and the litany, of the Roman Catholic's

The apostles too—did they act like men who believed the rite of baptism to be invariably followed by deliverance from condemnation, and the renewal of the heart from on high? Why, then, all their labors, reasonings, exhortations, and entreaties to bring their hearers to Christ, when they had only to baptize them at once: and by "this regenerating ordinance," instantly to place them in a "state of salvation?" No! In all the directions which the apostles gave to sinners, as recorded in the Acts, baptism is never alluded to but once, and then as *following*, not leading to faith in Christ. This outward rite they uniformly represented as the mere *symbol* of a spiritual change which was supposed *already* to have taken place.

"Can any man forbid water," says Peter, "that these should not be baptized?" But why baptize these men? To place them in a "state of grace"—to give them "a title to the influence of the Holy Spirit?" No; but because they "*have* received the Holy Ghost as well as we." Acts x. 47. How could the apostle more directly contradict the high church principles? Considered in this light, as a mere *symbol* of a change already experienced, it is not surprising that so little stress was laid on baptism by the apostles. "Christ," says Paul, "sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." How different would have been his language if he had ever imagined, that baptism was invariably followed by renewing influ-

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liturgy, &c. While it is vastly improved from this, it needs a further revision to render it either safe, or consistent with the Word of God. No wonder that Archbishop Whately says, "I should be deficient in candor and truth, if I did not acknowledge that I think our liturgy susceptible of improvement." So thought Tenison, Wake, Secker and Porteous, and so think thousands more who are compelled to use it.

ences from on high! Regarded in this light, the power of administering it, is the most awful and momentous prerogative ever conferred on man. Armed with such power, the apostle had only to persuade men to receive the washing of water at his hands, and they were instantly converted, made "children of God," and "heirs of the kingdom."

But these pretensions reach still farther. Others with Dr. Hobart declare, that "the *only* mode through which we can obtain a title to those blessings (of the gospel) is the sacrament of baptism." "Repentance, faith, and obedience," he says, "will not of *themselves* be effectual to our salvation." Other high churchmen know and believe nothing to the *contrary* of this, and the practical effect therefore is precisely the same. Here, we apprehend, is if possible a still more direct contradiction of the Word of God. "REPENT, *that* your sins may be blotted out." "Thy FAITH *hath* saved thee." "BELIEVE on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to *every one* that believeth." "In every nation, he that *feareth* Him, (God,) and *worketh righteousness* is accepted of Him." Such are the conditions of salvation as pointed out in the Scriptures. Not one word is said of baptism or peculiar church relationship as indispensable to salvation, and as if to silence all pretensions of this kind, in a single sentence, God has added, "Circumcision (to which baptism succeeds as a different form of the same rite,) is *nothing*, and *un*-circumcision is *nothing*, but a NEW CREATURE;" proving demonstrably, that the new birth is not only something entirely distinct from any outward rites, but wholly independent of them Such are the contradictions to the Word of God involved in the sentiments in question?

5. We would now turn, for a moment, to consider the influence of such doctrines, *on the spiritual state of those who are educated in their belief.*

Nothing can be more certain than this, that all the scriptural representations of the condition and character of men by nature, are deeply humbling and painful. Their direct tendency is to alarm the sinner, to lay him low in the dust before God, and to drive him to utter despair of relief from any human intervention or aid. They urge him to instantaneous and unreserved submission to God. Even in the most distinguished saints, we see the evidence of this humbling tendency. "I abhor myself," says Job, "and repent in dust and ashes." "I was shapen in iniquity," says the psalmist, "and in sin did my mother conceive me." "Oh, wretched man that I am," exclaimed Paul, in view of the deep depravity of his heart. Now we ask, is there not the utmost danger, that impenitent sinners, under the influence of the sentiments in question, will fall entirely short of any such views of their character and condition? Is there no one whose eye now rests on these pages, to whom the language just quoted from the scriptures, seems strange and unaccountable? Is it not the tendency of the views in which multitudes are educated, to make them believe that their depravity is trifling, since it requires only such easy expedients to remove it? Do they not feel that it *is* removed, and its curse avoided by the simple reception of ordinances—that they have only to be baptized, confirmed, and to continue in the observance of stated rites, and they are regenerated, their sins washed away, and themselves made children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven? They enter on a course of religious duty; they have been made christians by baptism; they observe the services of the church;—they

hold a constituent part in divine worship;—all along with which, they are told, the grace of God is connected, and that by it, they are cultivating their good feelings or religious natures—"nourishing that grace which is given to every man to profit withal." At length they are confirmed, at which time, it is announced to them, that the Holy Ghost is imparted, and as they rise from the rite of confirmation,* they are saluted as "children of the kingdom and heirs of heaven." Having taken on themselves the vows of their godfathers and godmothers, and received the last ordinance of consecration from one professedly delegated to open the kingdom of heaven, they are re-assured of "a title to all the privileges and blessings of Christ's purchase."

Now what is the influence of all this on the unsuspecting disciples of this system? Do they not imagine that they are sure of salvation, if they simply persevere in the course on which they have thus entered? As they have been baptized, they think of course, and they are taught to believe so, that they "*have a title to the kingdom of heaven.*" Every repetition of prescribed devotional service, becomes an advancing step in their sanctification. The responses and observances of the sanctuary, rise every sabbath, as additional securities of God's favor. We have had too much experience in this kind of service and in these sentiments, not to be fully persuaded of the certainty and baneful effects of this influence. A righteousness is thus created in the soul, which is neither borrowed from the Redeemer's merits, nor perfected by the Holy Spirit. It is a righteousness wrought out by the

* Where is there any authority in the Bible for such a ceremony? Where?

simple and easy service of church prescription. Here the sinner rests his hope; and is told on authority which he has no wish to question, that while repentance, faith and obedience, will not of themselves be effectual to his salvation, *this* is "the mode" and the "only mode" of securing a "title to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase." Who under the belief of such a system, would not feel sure of salvation, in proportion to the multiplication of prescribed ordinances? If pressed with the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, their answer is ready, "It has already commenced, and we are advancing cheerfully forward to its full completion." How is it possible for such persons to listen with any but indignant feelings, to pointed statements of their guilt and danger as sinners? What necessity can there be, in their view, for that violence spoken of in the scriptures, with which men are to press into the kingdom of heaven? Where is the need of that armor of Paul, the panoply of God, to meet and conquer the powers of hell? Such things they consider as belonging to a different state of society, and as having no just or natural application to themselves. We appeal to every man who has preached to such persons, with a seriousness and pungency borrowed from the word of God, whether he has not found his instructions fall utterly powerless on their minds, and whether the whole tendency of this system, is not to lock up the soul in a state of fearful insensibility to their real condition, in the view of Him who searcheth the heart?

(*a*) We do not wish to say it invidiously, but we are utterly unable to discover how the thorough going High Church doctrine on this subject, differs from that of the Papists. An exclusive divine right to confer a "title to salvation," is claimed equally by both. It is the *opus operatum*, the

outward act, which in the view of both secures this title. "There is no salvation out of the Roman Church," is the axiom of the one; and we find much the same in the declarations, "Baptism is the *only* mode," etc. and, "I have yet to learn where a *promise* to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visable (i. e.) Episcopal Church upon earth."* We have no disposition to run the parallel farther. It is with pain that we have alluded, at all, to these remains of the "old doctrine" amongst any members of a Protestant church.

Yet we are constrained to ask, in the nature of the two systems, what is the specific difference? We can discover but little if any, save in the extent to which abuses may have been carried. In the structure of the two systems there certainly is something like identity. Melville, while exposing the errors of Romanism, says: "That which made us a part of this church, was the acknowledging the Pope as our ecclesiastical head,and that which dissolved our union with this church, was the refusing to continue such acknowledgment." We agree with the Oxford Episcopalians as to this affinity. We are not surprised, that they deny the right of Episcopacy to claim the Protestant name, and war against every thing Protestant within the pale of the prelacy. "The Churches of Rome, of England and France," they say, "are one and the same," and it is a matter of regret that we are separate from Rome."†

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* Bishop Ravenscroft.

† One of the Oxford divines, says: "I utterly reject and anathematize or curse the principle of protestantism, as a heresy, with all its forms, sects or denominations." See Mr. Ferguson's Lectures p. 10. Palmer's Letters and Tracts for the Times.

(*b.*) *The opinions and practices under review, seem to us to destroy that broad distinction between sin and holiness, the righteous and the wicked, which enters so deeply into man's present character and future prospects.* Their advocates address their hearers alike; presupposing in all, that infusion of grace or principle of moral goodness, which only requires a careful cultivation in all, to ripen to the full maturity of holiness. They do not admit that there is any *radical* distinction among men, which has been created by a change of their moral natures. They are not accustomed therefore, to bring home the searching truths of inspiration, and lay them, with the authority of the Almighty upon the consciences of men; and we are not aware, that the preaching of this class of divines is calculated to disturb the conscience of the sinner, or to create a belief in that *plague of the heart*, which God pronounces *desperate wickedness.* All men are supposed to have some goodness from the beginning, and are all along treated as the gospel treats those only, who are new creatures in Christ Jesus. "The preachers of this school," says the London Christian Observer, "address their auditors almost promiscuously as Christians, because professedly and by the sacrament of baptism they are such. Our view, on the other hand, is, that a large portion of them, are not Christians, except in name; and should, therefore be addressed, not merely as needing to be exhorted to higher advances in goodness and virtue, but to *become* Christians in the spiritual sense of the term." These remarks were called forth by the following passage from the Sermons of the late Bishop Hobart. "*No limit* can be prescribed to all persons, beyond which, indulgence in pleasure is sinful. The variety in the constitution of human character, and the difference of strength

in the passions of different individuals, places at different degrees, the point, where indulgence becomes sinful." Well does the Christian Observer add, "We are alarmed at the oversight, that gave birth to this passage and the consequences to which it might lead, especially in the volume in which it appears. We see nothing in all the Bible warranting allowance in pleasure, (we know not of what kind) according to the strength of passion in different individuals."*

To what does this want of discrimination in preaching directly lead? As it arises from a want of discrimination in regard to truth and religious experience, it leads to a want of discrimination in respect to Christian character and communion. It is saying to all, except those who are too grossly wicked to believe it, that they are Christians. Is it not a fact indeed, that most of the congregation are, at some period of their lives, invited and urged to partake of those ordinances, which are the divinely appointed seals of experimental piety? And thus, under a fatal delusion, many indulge in those pleasures of life which the gospel forbids, and in a conformity to the world, wholly inconsistent with the piety it enjoins. We know that the preachers of whom we now speak, sometimes allude to a future and endless retribution of misery. But surely the "heirs of the kingdom of heaven," "the children of God," cannot consider themselves as exposed to such a doom. Such are the accustomed address and instructions of these preachers, that few, if any, are found sufficiently depraved, within the circle of their ministrations, to feel that they deserve such tremendous punishment, as

* Review of Bishop Hobart's Sermons in the London Christian Observer.

any evil must be, that is eternal. If we mistake not, their congregations as a body, feel as one common family, moving on together, under the saving culture of their religious services, and the favor of God, with the assurance of his everlasting complacency. This we cannot but believe is destroying the very foundation of the Christian system, and has less of practical virtue and efficacy, than is found in the code of civil law: and that bright feature of our jurisprudence, that makes exposure to eternal punishment the security of its oaths, is more evangelical than such ministrations.

It is a belief in native grace, or a remnant of moral goodness in the heart, together with the supposed efficacy attached to baptism, which leads to this indiscriminate treatment of the mixed multitudes of a worshipping assembly. And this of necessity destroys the scriptural distinction between the righteous and the wicked; for it will be remembered, that most, if not all, have adopted "*the mode*" and "*the anly mode*" of securing "a *title* to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase," and have those native and nurtured principles of resemblance to God, which are said to expand into the perfection of holiness. How natural is it, that a confidence and hope should thus be engendered, which rest not on any distinct sense of union of soul to Christ, not on a feeling of unreserved submission to the law and government of God, against whom we were conscious of having stood forth in the attitude of rebellion, but on a hope built upon man's native and cherished fitness for God's eternal presence and favor, which at once sweeps away the fear of eternal wrath, from every soul that has been brought under the protection of High Church ordinances.

(*c.*) It is owing to this fact, we conceive, that *Unitarianism*

has always made so little progress, in a community where High Church principles, are prevalent. There is no *demand* for Unitarianism in such a community. Are any offended with that kind of preaching which shows man his utterly depraved and ruined condition, and which sends him for relief to an almighty Savior, they can find a refuge from such humbling and painful admonitions, under the soothing messages of those, who treat all their hearers as made "heirs of God" in baptism, and as needing only the steady culture of inherent grace, to prepare the soul for heaven. It is not, to any great extent, the speculative question of the Trinity, which makes men Unitarians: it is a settled dislike of the doctrine of man's entire want of holiness by nature, and his dependence on special and distinguishing grace for the renewal of the heart. Where these doctrines can be escaped on easier terms, few will find any inducement to become followers of Arius or Socinus. And had it not been for the decided piety and evangelical sentiments of that portion of the Church of England to which we have affectionately alluded and the indomitable spirit of civil liberty, the Arian and Socinian classes of England would probably have found the *thirty-nine* barriers of the Establishment less formidable and her shade more expansive and refreshing: and even now, how many of this character may be found reposing under its august protection and ample patronage, with consciences too tender to be guilty of the "damning sin of schism," we are not called upon to decide; yet we have our fears, and the sighs and prayers of holy men in that venerable communion, assure us that all is not right.

We have already intimated, that the foregoing remarks are applicable not to the Episcopal Church *as such*, but

to a portion of its members who have departed from the catholic principles, and self-abasing doctrines, of its original founders. Concerning this defection, many of the most pious and devoted members of that church, both in England and America, have publicly spoken in terms far stronger than any which we have used. Believing the principles in question to be unscriptural and dangerous, we cannot be expected to see them urged industriously on those of our own communion, without occasionally expressing our sentiments. And we speak with feelings of entire kindness towards those from whom we differ. It is against principles, and not men, that we have spoken; and our earnest prayer is, that all parties, on this subject, may feel with the excellent Hooker, that "ten words spoken in the spirit of meekness, are better than volumes of controversy." In this it is our purpose never to engage.

We have expressed our convictions, that the principles before us, with that necessary formalism which attends them, are subversive of the gospel plan of salvation. In this opinion we wish to avoid the charge of uncharitableness, or to share it with those of whom the world is not worthy. There is a charity which we neither covet, nor feel it safe or creditable to Christianity to cherish at all. And as we have relied almost exclusively upon the firm friends of the Episcopal Church for our support of other opinions, we shall here rest for our vindication at the present time.

The respected and learned prelate of the Ohio diocese, Dr. McIlvane, viewing the sentiments before us, in the same light that we do, as utterly subversive of the doctrine of *justification by grace*, has given to the public his most extended and able work in its vindication against the attacks of Episcopal writers, and we can urge no

stronger adverse arguments, than fill the pages of this review of Oxford divinity. We only wonder and regret, that with such clear and distinguishing views of truth, and of the way of salvation, any man can stop short of the rejection of the whole system of formalism and ecclesiastical exclusiveness, which environs and chills, as with mountains of frost, the catholic spirit and tendencies of a divine Christianity.

We close this array of evidence in support of our positions, and in justification of our course in this brief review, with the able and Christian expostulations of Archdeacon Hare, whom we recognize as a bishop of the Episcopal Church of England.

"I cannot but make mention of a notion," says he, "which has been brought forward somewhat prominently by certain very amiable and pious men in our days, — namely, that our Lord's promise was not made to the collective body of His church, to that body of which He is the Head, the blessed communion of all faithful people, in all nations and through all ages, — but that it was confined to the apostles exclusively, as the supposed representatives of the Episcopal body, — and that none are embraced in it, none must flatter themselves they have the slightest share in it, except the same Episcopal body unto the end of the world. You would join with me, I would fain hope, in the earnest desire to purge our church from all remains of that Judaizing Romish superstition, which would wrap up the free spirit of the gospel in the swathing bands of forms and ceremonies, and would tether it to a name."

"That amiable and pious men should have taken up such a notion, which leads straightway to the most revolting conclusions, — according to which the chief

part of Protestant Christendom is cast out at once by a sweeping interdict from the pale of Christ's Church, nay, is recklessly declared to stand on a level with the heathen, and to be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God,—that able and pious men should not shrink with awe from such a notion, that they should take it up under anything less than the clearest, most compulsory, most irresistible demonstration,—that they should not look carefully and anxiously round for some mode of escaping from such appalling conclusions,—might be deemed unaccountable, if we did not remember how prone we all are to convert every object of our peculiar interest and affection, even the objects of our purest worship, into idols. This is the last wall of the citadel in which the selfishness of man takes refuge and barricades itself; and it can hardly be thrown down altogether, so long as we continue here below. Our form of government must be the only good form of government, not because it is a good one, but because it is ours. Our church must be the only church, not because it is founded on truth,—few examine its foundations; still fewer examine the foundations of other churches with patience, and candor, and honesty, and a righteous self-distrust: no, our church is ours, and therefore it is the only true one. We still cannot bear to think that the veil of the temple should have been rent; we still cannot bear that the Gentiles should have a free approach to the Holy of holies; we cannot bear that our neighbors should come to it by any other road than ours. * * * I can only express my regret that, where such strong arguments in favor of Episcopacy may be drawn from the history and idea of the church, many of its advocates, not content with proving that it is the best form of church government, have resolved to make out that it is the only one, and have tried to rest it upon

scriptural grounds, which in fact only weakens their cause. For I cannot discover the shadow of a word in the gospels to counterbalance the interpretation referred to. Feeble and flimsy as are the scriptural arguments, on which the Romanists maintain the inalienable primacy of St. Peter, they are far more specious and plausible than those derived from the same source, on the strength of which it has been attempted to establish the absolute necessity of Episcopacy to the existence of a Christian Church."

"Let us, my brethren, carefully beware of that most hurtful and narrow-minded of monopolies which would monopolize the grace of God. The way to life is narrow enough: let us not throw up any fresh mounds by its side, to render it narrower still. Let us rejoice that the salvation which Christ wrought for his people is not tied to any one form of church government or other,—to anything that man can set up, or that man can pull down. Let us rejoice that in Christ Jesus nether Episcopacy availeth anything, nor anti-Episcopacy, but a new creature. Let us rejoice that the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and that all nations were to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The little regard which has for some years been paid to the principles under review, and the almost uniform disposition of religious denominations in this country, to leave each other in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective and peculiar preferences, as to doctrine and forms, might have justified us, in the view of many, in passing them unnoticed at this time. And we should rejoice, had the advocates of these doctrines and principles, been contented to enjoy them, within their own communion, without claiming the right to invalidate the basis of

all other churches, and to proscribe, as unscriptural and vain, all ministrations but their own. These exclusive pretensions entrench, not alone upon the rights of other churches, but they corrupt the truth, and counteract the influences of our common christianity, and thus make war upon the dearest rights of mankind. And we are not alone in feeling the necessity of such a review, as we have given. Many others are deeply feeling the same, and with their characteristic intelligence and charity are speaking plainly, and admonishing of the evils, which they apprehend necessarily result from the principles before us.*

It is not sectarian officiousness, nor desire for controversy that has governed us. We are all directly interested in these things, for they relate to *mind*, and mind is the common property of man every where. "Truth is every man's concernment, every man's right and every man's most necessary possession." These things belong to the *heart*, whose ceaseless pulsation is the electric life of the world. No man can entrench himself in his church or beneath the dignity of office or station of Gothic antiquity and strength, with '*Noli me tangeré*,' inscribed on his portals. He lives and acts on mind, on souls immortal. No man lives unto himself. No man dies alone. We are members one of another, and as the heirs of a common christianity, are bound to unite in the warm charity of its spirit for its universal spread.

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* Without concert or interchange of views, we find Dr. Duffield, of Detroit, Rev. M. Smith of S. Car., Dr. Bethune of Philadelphia, Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson, of Canandaigua, Rev. N. Murray, of New Jersey, &c. in connexion with many of the Episcopal Church, vindicating their views of the gospel against the urgency of exclusive principles—showing that it is not the morbid sensibility of a solitary mind alone that is affected.

"In proportion as the gospel is understood, in its purity and its power;—in proportion as it is felt to be a *spiritual religion*, (its) independence of whatever is local and visible will the more appear; not indeed to the disparagement of visible institutions; but to the higher glory of the spiritual reality. It seems scarcely to need proof, that any system of opinions, the purport and tendency of which is to give an unusual prominence and a paramount importance to *visible* institutions, and especially as historically and geographically defined, and which with a severe consistency, denies the very name of christian to whatever may be found beyond its pale, or may not acknowledge its jurisdiction; that such a system, so far as it takes effect, stands opposed to whatever is the most auspicious in the present age, and if permitted to work its will, must turn back the current of human affairs a thousand years, and would confine the blessings of the gospel within limits narrower than those of ancient Judaism. These *exclusive opinions*, so fondly embraced by many, are indeed, 'a discipline of the secret,' likely enough to bury the gospel in a cloister, along with the last hopes of happiness for mankind."

Denying the "independence" and vitality of the gospel under whatever forms of "visible maintenance," we shall find ourselves "driven farther and farther from whatever is substantial, whatever is benign, whatever is reasonable in the Christian system, until we find a gloomy home, not in a church, but in a sepulchre."*

We have reluctantly come to the conclusion; rather we have been driven to the conviction, that the English prelacy is now, and has been separate from the papacy,

* Taylor's Spiritual Christianity, Am. Ed. pp. 223–25.

not from any native or original incongruities, but from the force of private animosities and political alienations. And but for geographical distinctions, and the respective heads of these two hierarchies, we see no insurmountable obstacles in the way of their speedy and cordial reunion. Hence we perceive the reasonableness of Puseyism, in the heart of the Episcopal communion, warring against the state affinities of the church, as unnatural and demanding a revulsion and return to the bosom of that ancient fraternity, whence the prelacy sprung. And to this day, it is doubtful whether the Reformation would not have been saved her severest check, and the pious been more completely separated from Romish corruption, had Henry VIII. remained "the defender of the faith," in conflict with Luther and the Truth, instead of becoming the enemy of Rome, and the head of the Church of England. As it is, truth and error are so blended; formalism and spiritual christianity so closely allied, that there must be collision—there must be conflict, till such opposing principles are more widely separate. And it is the rising and remonstrating spirit of the one, that has summoned forth the redoubled energies of the other. Well has Dr. Pusey, declared, "Two systems of doctrine are now, and probably for the last time, in conflict—the Catholic and Genevan." Let the issue be joined. The world is prepared for it. It may now be the conflict of argument, and not of arms; of mind redeemed, free, sanctified. Let charity be our spirit, truth our weapons, and God the umpire.

And it is equally true, that a corresponding spirit is abroad in the world. Two classes of civil institutions, are now, if not for the last time, in conflict for the mastery—the free institutions of law and equality, and those of will and arbitrary distinctions. No one can mistake their

respective religious affinities, their influence on the popular mind, their claims to the confidence and support of every Christian citizen.

It is as such, that we feel bound to meet, in charity and argument, the lofty sentiments before us. The confidence with which they are urged, with all their claims to venerable antiquity, neither intimidate nor overawe us. And it is more in defense of our own principles, than of aggression upon those of others, that we speak at all. The advocates of high church exclusiveness and formalism, are not silent as to the triumphs of their cause, nor inactive in urging its claims. Their predictions of advance are clear and confident, and we admit their justness, more in pity to them, than in mortification at the defeat of others. It is possible, that in the amplitude of their increase, and the easy terms of their communion, the severer requisitions of the gospel may be excluded, and in the enforcement of formalism, or its acceptance as the conditions of grace, there may be forfeited the vital energies of the atonement, and the spirituality of religion. The extension thus gained is but the "extension death imparts to the body" when the soul has fled.*

And while there is so much in these principles, demanding our attention, as citizens of a free state, and above all as probationers for eternity, it cannot be expected, that under existing circumstances, we should pass them in silence, or fail to canvass their claims, and if necessary resist their advances. We regret the necessity which their advocates have imposed upon us to do so.

In the language of Mr. Ferguson, "it is because we cannot—we dare not concur in such views and senti-

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* Robert Hall.

ments ;—it is because such doctrines not only insult our reason, but offend our common sense ; it is because we believe them to be in direct opposition to the word and will of God, and injurious—dangerous to the interests of his church and the souls of men, that we now venture to oppose them." We are called upon by the advocates of these principles, "to choose our side," assured that, "to remain neuter much longer, will be itself to take a part." This we have done long before now, and as Protestants, and as Christians, we are willing to abide the issue.

Recent events, beginning with that most remarkable retrogression in England, in our view more threatening to her piety and her church, than were the Normans to her state securities ; that strange sympathy which it receives in this country, and which seems diffusing its influence, waking up that spirit which animated the beast of the Apocalypse, and which, in the form of the second, would heal the wound of the first,* and inflict death upon the sacred interests of truth, freedom and grace ; lay upon the friends and advocates of a *spiritual religion*, and the civil rights of mankind, a most solemn obligation. "I speak plainly," says Dr. Bethune, "but the time has come, when the advocates of a *spiritual Christianity*, must speak out. Silence now would be falsehood, unremonstrant submission to opinions, that would exclude us from the Church of God, and desecrate our sacraments, treason to the truth and disloyalty to Christ." We come forward in the name of no party, but speak what every Christian minister should speak in defense of truth, and what every Christian citizen should seriously review.

And we hope, that the advocates of these principles,

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* See Revelations, xiii. 11—15.

will themselves re-examine the ground of their defense, and their legitimate workings on the civil and religious interests of mankind.

We have seen ecclesiastical institutions greatly modifying the forms of civil government, and as we have ever found, "monarchy in the church conducive to monarchy in the state and quite as perilous to civil freedom," if our government is to be regarded in the light of an experiment, or if we have come to the conclusion that the "oxygenized element of democracy, too pure in itself for human respiration,"* cannot be endured; nor the mingled principles of our "constitutional confederacy," be successfully carried out, it is possible, that in no way, can a revolution more easily or safely be brought about, than by inculcating the principles of prelatical, diocesan Episcopacy, "that more efficient support to monarchy, than a standing army."† For the more remote results, we will not be answerable.

It is certainly a remarkable fact, that these principles, after being so ably defended, and so vigorously urged, for centuries, should have made so little progress with the intelligent portion of the Christian world. They have had the patronage and support of the proudest governments on earth, with professed divine and exclusive rights, and yet the prelacy, separate from its papal associations, is the most limited communion of the whole family of nominal Christians. Is the human mind so dull; the heart so unyielding, that no arguments can enlighten and no motives persuade to the acknowledgement of truth? These exclusive *principles*, though urged through centuries of darkness, and the Augustan ages of learning, down to the present hour, reason and conscience

* See Mr. Adams' Lecture on the Nature of Government, p. 31.

† Charles II. of England.

remonstrate, and reject their claims. Must not their foundation be defective? At least, we think their advocates must despair of securing for them, at this late day, anything like a permanent basis or a general prevalence. Other denominations have arisen and filled the world with the light of truth and the charity of God. Unsustained, but by their own instinctive vitality, and the exhaustless resources of their faith, hope and charity, they now advance in strength and triumph; heathen millions converted, their trophies, and the light of the promised day, heaven's attestation to their *right* and *succession* to the covenant mercies of God.

But we find no such proportionate growth for the principles under review, and no such fruits of their administration anywhere.* And we are not aware, that there are any unusual difficulties in their way from their hostility to the common principles of our depraved nature. They are not singularly hostile to the indulgences of the flesh, nor at war with the *innocent* fashions and habits of life. Compare the period of the "Commonwealth" and the two reigns succeeding. The difficulty cannot lie here. Must it not be found in the cause itself?

We are free to say, that we do not envy the circumstances to which the advocates of these principles are subjected, and we regret that limits so restricted, confine and cramp their greatest minds. They seem entrenched in narrow bounds, like Sampson grinding at the mill of

* The reputed extension of the English Church in the East Indies and elsewhere, under the patronising auspices of the government, leaving heathenism to absolute idolatry almost entirely unchecked, we cannot receive as evidence of the actual advancement of high church principles, in intelligent communities. Nor can we easily measure the exact extent of the English hierarchy at home, while its affinities to the state remain.

the Philistines. The world is losing the aid of their strength, and the light of their genius. We lament their strong attachment to an exclusive system; unknown to primitive christianity; which, springing from the corruptions of the church, grew to collossal greatness amid ages of night, and lived into the light, only from its identity of interests with dynasties of oppression. And we wonder at the fondness, with which they fasten to its wasting strength, resolute, like the blinded Nazarite at Gaza, clinging to the pillars of the temple, only to die amid its ruins.

We are constrained to ask the friends and advocates of High Church principles, if they are not doing injustice to themselves, as well as unkindness to others, in such persevering exclusiveness and rigid formalism? In excommunicating every other church, and entrenching themselves in limits so narrow, may they not also, be doing violence to the law of love, and the spirit of Christ? May they not lose the breathings of that charity, the pulsations of that piety, which is the communion of the saints, and the foretaste of life everlasting? They may indeed repose in all the complacency of the heirs of the "Celestial Empire," the robed Mandarins of pre-eminent sun-light and glory, but like the walled inmates of that remote and exclusive land, they appear dark to surrounding beholders, and lost to the rich benefits of this enlightened age, propitious for doing and getting good.

We should esteem it the highest honor of a free citizen, to bestow the boon of universal liberty, and hail as freemen, the whole brotherhood of man: and it would be the richest happiness of our earthly state, cordially to unite with every follower of God, in instructing and saving the world from the bondage of error and death, to the honor of our common Redeemer. And whatever obstructs or

impairs this union, opposes the purposes of mercy, and keeps back the millennial state of man.

The enlightened and commercial community claim, upon the principles of national fraternity, that China, shut out for ages in pride and contempt of the world beside, shall open her vast territory to the ingress of nations, and if necessary, would demolish her wall of separation, for her own enlightenment and the reciprocal benefit of mankind. Of the morality of this, we have nothing to say. But on the principles of a common christianity, and the universal brotherhood of mankind in sin and in the proffer of salvation by Christ, there can be no exclusive territories, no separating walls: all truth is free: error has no shelter from discussion and invasion. With these principles, we approach the advocates of an exclusive religion, in *love;* ever believing in the *high* law of "Christian expansion; the *active* law of evangelical diffusion;" in the duty, charity and union of all believers under Christ, to regenerate the world.

And of this we are not to despair. We know there is a radical and reckless spirit in religion; a wild "democracy," which in its actings alone upon the state, is "deadly as the uncombined element of oxygen," and in the church, kindling the very fires of fanaticism. It may now be seen in faint resemblance to the burning and bloody terrors of the Ana-Baptists of the sixteenth century, and the phrensy of the "fifth monarchy men," of the commonwealth of England.

We will say nothing of "democracy" in the state; but we will say, that we have no fears of an aristocracy here, in any form. But while we have the wild and levelling spirit of ignorant religionists, assuming wisdom without learning, superior holiness without practical piety; violent in denunciation and reckless; we have also, as we

have seen, an aristocracy in the church, feeble indeed in numbers and influence, but assuming and exclusive. Not unlike the broken down, emigrating *Cavaliers* of the wasted dynasties of the Stuarts, never forgetting their original alliance to the remnants of royalty; it would look even in its weakness, with equal lordliness, on every other denomination, and exclude from the covenant mercies of God, the whole family of Christ. But it has not the sword, and probably never will have. It may secure a species of governmental favor, but this, in whatever form enjoyed, has never advanced the piety of the church. What is it in England, but a curse? In Scotland, but the incubus of death? We seek, we would have, no succession for a *spiritual religion* to state endowments, nor take from Cæsar any rights or immunities, but such as Christian citizens, we may claim upon the ground of our common citizenship. "The Bible and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." And we have here the same sentiments, the same principles, that ruled in the Reformation, that reigned through the English persecution, that held in check the fiery spirit of extravagant Independents and Enthusiasts, and at the same time, mitigated the severities of an imperial prelacy, and broke the iron sceptre of the 'man of sin.' Under their "expansive" power and "evangelical diffusion," we would go on "unto perfection."

And though discordant and jarring elements may confuse the multitude, and darkness long reign, with these tried principles of a "simple" and "*spiritual*" Christianity, trusting in the grace of God, and faithful, we shall see the spirit of the Lord moving upon the face of the waters; confusion and night pass away;—the order, beauty and glory of a regenerated world, shall usher in the promised day, realizing to the believer THE FULLNESS OF GOD.

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